

THE MONTH

A Catholic Magazine and Review.

JULY, 1894.

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A Hundred Years ago.

IT is a philosophical reflection suggesting itself to many minds that our grandsires would be hugely astonished could they get a glimpse of the way we live now in these latter days of the nineteenth century ; it does not, however, so frequently occur to us that the old times have their wonderful side as well as the new, and that if our ancestors could not, like their descendants, travel at sixty miles an hour, or flash messages to New York, they did in fact work out historical problems on a large scale by dint of a dogged fixity of purpose and individual self-reliance which assuredly furnish a title to admiration not less sterling than that which is based on the discoveries and inventions of physical science.

A very notable example of this is afforded by the great crisis through which Catholic affairs were passing in England at this very period of the last century, a crisis which threatened to deal a mortal blow at the existence of the Church in the British Isles, but was in fact converted into the greatest of blessings, owing to the self-sacrifice and singleness of purpose with which it was met by those to whom the care of Catholic interests was at the time entrusted.

To study the state of things a century ago, from the documents of the period, is like taking a dip into another world.¹

¹ Though speaking in the present article only of Catholic affairs, we cannot help remarking some strange, and, as they may appear, grotesque, parallelisms between the tone of that time and our own. The *fin de siècle* spirit then, as now, seems to have been serenely confident in the importance of its own achievements. Thus on occasion of the capture of Liege by Jourdain (July, 1794), we find it noted as a wonderful proof of the resources of science that a captive balloon was used by him to reconnoitre the position of the Austrians. The *Annual Register* (xxxvi. 49), after speaking of this, thus continues : " But a contrivance for communicating intelligence of still greater importance, and which was also first made use of by the French, was the [semaphore] telegraph ; of which it would be altogether inexcusable in this place not to give some account : for next to the power of prophecy is that of knowing what passes at a great distance in a short space of time. . . . The telegraph of the present day is infinitely more perfect than any mode of conveying intelligence quickly from,

Catholics, though relieved of some of the more grievous enactments which had previously oppressed them, were still subject to an amount of restrictive legislation to us hardly credible. In the *Catholic Directory* for 1796,¹ we find a paragraph headed, "Remarkable instances of liberality and beneficence towards Catholics which distinguish His Majesty's reign," and amongst them we read :

"In 1778 the Roman Catholics of England were freed from a part of the galling penalties and restraints, which, through misconception of their principles and conduct, had been accumulating upon them during the greater part of two centuries and a half.

"In 1791 a partial enjoyment of the rights of free subjects was extended to them by the Legislature, and, in particular, they were indulged with the important privileges of educating their children in their own religion, and of practising it in all its essential duties, except with respect to the Sacrament of Matrimony."

There were other important qualifications in the Act of Relief here mentioned which to us would appear so irritating and vexatious as to make it impossible to regard it otherwise than as an insult. Catholics wishing to take advantage of its

one place to another, known to the antients; and differs as much from former signals as the articulate sound of the human voice differs from the noises made by brutes. It is certainly to be considered as one of those inventions which opens a door to wonderful changes. It has hitherto been employed solely in the service of a bloody war, but it will also be found subservient to a variety of purposes in times of peace. With the aid of one intermediate station across the Channel, news might then be conveyed from London to Paris in an hour; and in three or four hours, an answer received to a few simple questions. This easy approximation of minds would wear away jealousies and antipathies, and promote reciprocally a good understanding."

In the same publication (*ibid.* p. 32) we find the following: "Among other ingenious inventions in the art of war, a contrivance had by this time been fallen on for sending reinforcements of men from one place to another on sudden and great emergencies, with great celerity and without fatigue. It seemed, like other inventions of great importance, very simple and obvious too after it was invented. It was no other than to take the assistance of coaches and wheel-carriages."

Still more remarkable is it to find, just before the appearance of Napoleon, the opinion confidently expressed, that generalship will in future be of small account in war, compared with the mechanical armament of an army; and this in the day of "Brown Bess" and other similar appliances. The *Annual Register* again writes (*ibid.* p. 33): "A king at the head of his troops increases their ardour in his cause; a victorious general inspires his troops with confidence; but the strength of modern armies consists much more in the organization of the *états majors*, the artillery, and the skill and dexterity of the engineers, than in any superiority of talents in the general."

¹ P. 32.

provisions were bound to present themselves between the hours of 9 a.m. and 2 p.m. in any of the Courts at Westminster, or at any Quarter Session, and there, openly in the Court, to make upon oath a declaration of allegiance, repudiating the doctrine of regicide, the doctrine that faith should not be kept with heretics, and the opinion that "the Pope of Rome, or any other foreign Prince, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath, or ought to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm;" adding, "and I make this Declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatever; and without any dispensation already granted by the Pope, . . . and without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this Declaration, or any part thereof, although the Pope, or any other Person or authority whatsoever shall dispense with or annul the same."

Having thus humbled themselves, and paid a fee for being permitted to do so, Catholics were exempt from prosecutions for non-attendance at the parish church, for keeping a servant, for professing the Popish religion, for saying or hearing Mass, and so forth. They might also licence their chapels and schools, according to a prescribed form, before the Justices of the Peace for the neighbourhood;¹ but neither the pastor of the chapel nor the master of the school could exercise his functions till his name had been recorded by the Clerk of the Peace, and no chapel could have a steeple or bell. Papists taking the oath were no longer liable to be removed from London and Westminster, nor their Peers prosecuted for coming into the royal presence. As to this last item, however, the *Directory* adds the remark that it "had better just now be suppressed, though it ever will have a due operation on the minds of those whom it immediately concerns."

Another note of warning struck in the same pages incidentally brings under our notice the particular phase of Catholic life which at present we wish especially to consider. From the days of Elizabeth it had been the almost universal rule for Catholics, who desired a liberal education for their sons, to send them to one or other of the colleges founded in foreign lands. For the benefit of boys so brought up, the same *Directory*,

¹ The form is given in the *Catholic Directory* for 1797, p. 7.

immediately after reciting the chief clauses of the Relief Act, thus continues :

"To prevent the mistakes of gentlemen, who returning after an early and long residence out of their native country, from meeting with difficulties at the Custom Houses in the ports of England which otherwise might happen, we have inserted the following unrepealed clauses from our statutes, which are still applied to and literally enforced by the persons who are in office :

"POPISH Agnus Deis, crosses, pictures, beads, or such vain and superstitious things, imported and delivered to any British subject, to be worn or used ; the importer and receiver incur a præmunire.

"Primers, Ladies' Psalters, Manuals, Rosaries, Popish Catechisms, Missals, Breviaries, Portals, Legends, and Lives of the Saints, containing superstitious matter, printed or written in any language ; or any other superstitious books printed or written in the British tongue, may not be imported : upon forfeiture of 40s. for every such book by the importer, buyer, or seller."

Such being the state of things, it might well have appeared impossible to conceive that the time had actually come when, not minor objects of Catholic devotion such as these, but the institutions for Catholic education, so long the object of the fiercest and most unrelenting hostility on the part of the home Government, should be imported on a large scale, and settled on their native soil. Yet so it was, the event producing so unlooked-for a development being the French Revolution, which began by threatening to destroy what Catholics had come to regard as the only means possible of bringing up their sons as they desired, and of providing the Church in England with a succession of priests.

Of their state of mind in this regard we find a striking instance in a note appended in the *Directory* to what it calls its "Obituary" for 1794. After giving the names of the clergy deceased, it continues :

"Let the pious Catholic view this Obituary and say, has a return of their Clergy been equal to the diminution? Has not the destruction of our establishments, and the loss of the funds for training them up in France and Flanders, the terrifying prospect of depriving us of a succession? To avoid so fatal a catastrophe, come generously forward and support your ecclesiastical Superiors, who are straining every nerve, with

very limited means, to provide proper places, methods, and persons for a home education; though it is well known it will be attended with many difficulties, and a much greater expence than it cost abroad."

The outlook must indeed have appeared all but desperate. Since the days of Elizabeth the hopes of the Church in England had seemed to rest on the seminaries beyond the seas, which, one after another, were being swept away by the revolutionary torrent. Of them the oldest and best known was the English College of Douay, established in 1568 by Cardinal Allen,¹ which in the course of its existence produced "one cardinal, two archbishops, thirty-one bishops and bishops-elect, three arch-priests, about one hundred doctors of divinity, one hundred and sixty-nine writers, many eminent men of religious orders, and one hundred and sixty glorious martyrs, besides innumerable others, who either died in prison, or suffered confinement or banishment for their faith."² Douay also became a favourite place of education for the sons of the nobility and gentry, many of whom resorted thither.

There were in the same city a Benedictine Priory (established in 1604), and a Convent of Franciscan Recollects (established 1617), which served for the education of English youths, though in the latter only members of the Order were received. A Scotch and an Irish College were also situated at Douay.

Between fifty and sixty miles north-west of Douay lies the city of St. Omers,³ another haven of refuge for English Catholicity. Here had been founded, by Father Robert Persons, in 1592, the well-known College conducted by English Jesuits, and though this had been driven elsewhere in 1762, after a hundred and seventy years of life on this spot, its place had been speedily

¹ In 1578 the unsettled state of the district caused a migration of the College to Rheims, a few persons remaining however in the Douay house as caretakers. In 1593, on the invitation of the magistrates, the establishment returned to its original dwelling-place. The sense of insecurity generated by this first removal, which the intrigues of the English Government had doubtless done much to necessitate, led to the foundation of the College of Valladolid, where it was hoped that the work might be carried on should the older institution be altogether destroyed. (See *Notices of the English Colleges and Convents established on the Continent*, by the Hon. Edward Petre, edited by the Rev. F. C. Husenbeth. Norwich, 1849.)

² Petre, *ut sup.* p. 3.

³ This Anglicized form of the name appears to be the more correct when speaking of the English College, being that consistently employed for many years; though in the period of the Secular College it was "St. Omer."

filled (in 1764) by another English College, directed by secular priests, of which the erudite Alban Butler was the second President, and in which Daniel O'Connell studied. The Jesuit establishment thence expelled had effected a corporate migration to Bruges, in the Austrian Netherlands, where it had flourished till the destruction of the Society of Jesus in 1773, and even after that catastrophe had contrived to preserve its life by engrafting itself on what had been the Jesuit Theological College at Liege (founded 1616), which was maintained on something of its old footing by the favour of Mgr. Welbruck, the Prince Bishop, and moreover was allowed to affiliate to itself the boys' school driven from Bruges.

These were the principal establishments in the north of Europe to which, at the time of the French Revolution, the Catholics of England were accustomed to look for a supply of priests, as well as for the education of their own sons.¹

¹ Though dealing with the history of the time as it bears on that of our existing Catholic Colleges, we may subjoin a general catalogue of the establishments on the Continent originally called into existence by the severity of the penal laws at home, which is given by Dr. Bellesheim (*Wilhelm Cardinal Allen und die Englischen Seminare auf dem Festlande*, p. 297), and by Petre, *ut sup.*

SECULAR CLERGY. (1) English College, Douay, 1568. (2) Ditto, Rome, 1578. (3) Ditto, Valladolid, 1589. (4) Ditto, Seville, 1592. (5) Ditto, Madrid, 1598. (6) Ditto, Paris. (7) Ditto, Lisbon, 1622. (8) School at Equechin, near Douay, 1750. (8) College of St. Omers, 1764.

JESUITS. (1) College of St. Omers, 1592 [Bruges, 1762, Liege, 1773]. (2) Novitiate at Watten, near St. Omers, 1611 [transferred to Ghent, 1762]. (3) (Theological) College at Liege, 1616. (4) Residence, Ghent, 1662.

BENEDICTINES. (1) Convent, Lampspringe, Hildesheim. (2) Priory, Douay, 1604. (3) Priory, Dieulouart, Lorraine, 1606. (4) Priory, St. Malo, transferred to Paris, 1642. (5) High School, La Celle en Brie, attached to the Paris House.

BENEDICTINE NUNS. (1) Abbey, Brussels, 1598. (2) Ditto, Cambrai, 1623. (3) Ditto, Ghent, 1624. (4) Ditto, Paris, 1624. (5) Ditto, Pontoise, 1652. (6) Ditto, Dunkirk, 1652. (7) Ditto, Ypres, 1665; occupied by Irish Nuns from 1684 onwards.

CARTHUSIANS. (1) The community of Sheen (or Shene) settled in Bruges, 1559; Louvain, 1578; Mechlin (Malines), 1591; finally, Nieuport, 1626.

DOMINICANS. (1) Convent at Bornheim, between Ghent and Louvain, 1658. (2) College at Louvain.

DOMINICAN NUNS. Brussels, 1690.

FRANCISCAN RECOLLECTS. Douay, 1604.

FRANCISCAN NUNS. *Poor Clares*. (1) Gravelines, 1603. (2) Rouen, 1648. (3) Dunkirk, 1652. (4) Aire, Artois, 1660.

Third Order. Bruges, 1658.

Conceptionists. Paris, 1658.

CARMELITES. Tongres, 1770.

CARMELITE NUNS. (1) Antwerp. (2) Lierre, Brabant. (3) Hoogstraete, Brabant.

AUGUSTINIAN NUNS. (1) Louvain, 1609. (2) Bruges, 1629. (3) Paris, 1633. (4) Holy Sepulchre, Liege.

BRIGETTINES (of Sion). Zeeland, 1559; Antwerp, 1579; Lisbon, 1594.

INSTITUTE OF MARY. Liege, Cologne, and Munich, 1629.

In England itself there was no provision whatever for higher education amongst Catholics, and very little for education at all. Prior to the Relief Act of 1791, as we see from the *Directory* issued at the beginning of that year, there seem to have been but half a dozen boarding-schools of sufficient importance to advertise their existence, and some at least of them must have been on a very humble scale. Foremost among the schoolmasters offering themselves to undertake the charge of young Catholics, we find Mr. Wilacey, Old Hall Green, near Puckeridge, Herts, the school over which he presided having an interesting history giving it a unique character. Established in the reign of James II. at Silkstead, near Winchester, it had descended, though not altogether without interruption of continuity, through settlements at Twyford¹ and Standon Lordship successively. Another of the advertising schools bears a well-known name, "Sedgley Park, near Wolverhampton." The other establishments are those of Mr. Beesley, Shrewsbury House Academy, Isleworth, Middlesex; Mr. Ingram, Badgley Green, near Warwick; Mr. Jones, at Bridzor, near Wardour Castle, Salisbury, Wilts; and Mr. Newby, Haighton, near Preston, Lancashire, concerning which last the following information is added: "This gentleman did not send his terms in time for the *Directory* going to press—but is well known and much esteemed in the north of England."² Those who do give their terms, afford valuable material for a picture of the state of things at the time. Mr. Wilacey and Mr. Beesley ask a fee of twenty-five guineas yearly; Mr. Southworth, of Sedgley Park, and Mr. Ingram, ask sixteen; while Mr. Jones is content with eleven. At Sedgley Park it is particularly stated that "each boy has a bed to himself"—and in later years we find Old Hall giving a similar assurance. At Sedgley Park again, which offers a prospectus as long as all the rest together, the weekly sum of pocket-money allowed to the "children" is one penny.

The Relief Act of 1791 at once called into existence other Catholic schools, or emboldened those which had hitherto kept quiet to advertise themselves, for at the beginning of 1794

¹ Alexander Pope was a boy at Twyford. For a full account of the school and its fortunes, see the *History of St. Edmund's College, Old Hall*, by the Very Rev. Bernard Ward. 1893.

² The late Bishop Grant, of Southwark, used to tell of a schoolmaster near Preston—probably Mr. Newby, or his successor—in whose prospectus used to be seen the clause, "The uniform is optional."

we find in addition to the above establishments, Alphington Academy, near Exeter,—Solomon House Academy, Clapton, Middlesex,—the French Academy, Hammersmith, Middlesex,—the English, French, Latin, and Mathematical Academy, No. 3 Queen Square, Bristol,—and a select school for six young gentlemen, kept by “Mess. Usher, late of Kensington Gravel-pits, now of the city of Gloucester.”

But this extension would in all likelihood have done little to change the character of Catholic schools in England, and have only multiplied specimens of the same species, and it would have been long ere sufficient confidence had grown up to suggest the transplantation of the ancient and venerable colleges beyond the seas, to their native soil, had not the French Revolution intervened. It is well known to our readers how the minds of Englishmen were softened by the misfortunes of the French clergy driven as exiles to our shores, and how generous and considerate was the treatment they there received. The effect of this was at once obvious. In the *Catholic Directory* for 1794, we read:¹ “1792 and 1793 will be ever remarkable in the annals of Time. Amidst the various nations which have afforded at once an asylum and succour to those French clergy, whom a strict adherence to their religion has exiled from their native soil, England, beyond a doubt, must have the pre-eminence for generosity and compassion. During the course of September and October, 1792, more than six thousand of these clergymen were received in either England, Jersey, or Guernsey; nor was it long before their number was augmented to eight thousand. Great Britain has proportioned her munificence to the number of suffering objects. By the benevolence of Government, the royal palace at Winchester has been fitted up in order to accommodate some of them with lodging and other necessities without expence. Already more than 660 are provided for there. The nation at large has opened a subscription, and every parish has contributed its part: the amount of which, in August, 1793, was sixty-seven thousand pounds sterling, and at the same epoch 4,800 of these suffering exiles were supported by it. We might also mention ten thousand pounds, the donation of some charitable but nameless individuals, without ever taking notice of the succours several of them have received in private families, where they have been caressed almost like children of their own. In a letter published by the Bishop of

¹ P. 24.

Leon, and in the *History of the Clergy* by Abbé Barruel, a more full detail is given of the generosity of the English, and to what degree their succour excited an acknowledgment from those whom they have received into their protection. And if nothing more substantial could be adduced in proof of the natural generosity of Britons, than their constant benevolence in providing relief for so great a number of these clergymen, who owe their unhappiness and misery to nothing more than fidelity to their God and their religion; it must be confessed that the regularity of life of these priests, and the edification which they have afforded to society at large, must undoubtedly add to the natural delight for which the English nation has always been renowned in the annals of mankind, as affording relief to the indigent and needy."

In the wake of these foreign refugees, the Englishmen who had expatriated themselves for the sake of Catholic education obtained an unexpected opportunity of gaining admission to their own country, but that they actually managed to do so was due to their possession of those qualities of which something has been said already—a dogged tenacity of purpose, and an absolute devotion to the cause in which they had taken service, inducing them to make light of trials and difficulties against which it might well have been thought hopeless to struggle.¹

The situation of the Colleges of Douay and St. Omers caused them to feel at an early date the effects of the revolutionary spirit, to which things Catholic and things English were equally obnoxious.

Premonitory symptoms of coming troubles began to show themselves as early as 1791, in connection with the schismatical civic oath imposed on the clergy. It was not, however, till 1793 that the storm burst. In the February of that year the College of Douay was visited by a band of drunken national guards, who threatened serious mischief, but were mollified when some of the students uttered "patriotic" sentiments and fraternized with them; seals were however affixed to doors, and a sort of inventory taken of the more valuable property. The Irish College had meantime broken up, and the Superiors of the

¹ Speaking of Douay, the last survivor of those in the College, Mr. Penswick, thus speaks of the conduct of those who had to bear the brunt of the troubles: "To their honour, be it said, that they never faltered in their determination for a single moment. To one fixed resolve they arrived, and from it they never swerved: The College must be retained at all hazards." (*History of St. Edmund's College, Old Hall*, p. 72.)

Scotch and Anglo-Benedictine establishments had sent the students away, remaining in the house themselves, with a few others, to keep possession; the English community resolved on the other hand to hold on as long as possible and trust to a turn of the tide; while some of the more daring students employed themselves in smuggling away plate and other valuables.

In no long time it became evident that the inmates of the College were prisoners in their own house. Some therefore contrived to escape. Others caught in the attempt were thrown into prison. In August (1793), as a siege of Douay by the allied armies seemed imminent, all British subjects were ordered to leave the place within twenty-four hours, but were not allowed to go where they would, particular destinations being severally assigned to them. The members of the English College,¹ and those of the English Benedictines who were yet remaining, were quartered at Equerchin. Early in October they were suddenly ordered back to Douay, where the English students were confined as prisoners in the Scotch College, while their own was sacked by the people. On Wednesday, October 16th, an order was given for them to be conveyed to Doullens, in Picardy, and there imprisoned in the citadel, the Benedictines sharing their captivity. This was very rigorous, but by degrees it became possible to have Mass occasionally, and some of the prisoners managed to get out and made their way to England,² the number remaining in confinement being ultimately reduced to thirty-two, six of them being Benedictines.

Meanwhile experiences equally unpleasant had been the lot of the English colony at St. Omers. At the beginning of August in the same year, two hundred soldiers invaded the College, arresting the eleven professors, and the boys, of whom at the time there were about fifty. The boys were kept in the house, but were provided by the Republican Government with new masters, "Constitutional priests," who having taken the schismatical civic oath were under the ban of the Church. It need hardly be said that the boys found a most congenial method of vindicating the soundness of their own principles in setting the authority of their new teachers at defiance, and those who know

¹ Mr. Daniel, the President, was allowed to remain, and two students who were too ill to be moved.

² The full particulars of this eventful period cannot here be given, but may be found in Father Ward's *History of St. Edmund's College* already cited, pp. 81, seq.

the difficulties which encompass a foreign master in an English class-room will be prepared to learn that the intruded pedagogues could make nothing of the rebels.

In January, 1794, the St. Omers captives were transferred to Arras, some escaping on the road, and after four months of detention there, to Doullens to share the captivity of their countrymen from Douay. In October came orders to send the St. Omers contingent back to their own house, and in the following month the same was done with regard to those from Douay, who on their return were lodged in the Irish College. For both parties, however, the whole of the year 1794 was spent in confinement, and it was not till February, 1795, that permission was obtained, by the energy and perseverance of Dr. Gregory Stapleton, President of St. Omers, for both sorely tried communities to return to their native country, where they arrived in company on the 2nd of March.

From the little band thus brought home have sprung three of our best known Catholic Colleges, St. Edmund's, Old Hall—Ushaw—and Downside. To the first named of these some of the fugitives already mentioned as having escaped from captivity had at once betaken themselves, as well as some who had come to England before the troubles abroad actually began, and to these were presently added members of the band whose adventures we have sketched. In no long time it was thought better by the Vicars Apostolic of the northern counties to bring the students with whom they were more closely concerned nearer home, and they accordingly established a Seminary at Crook Hall, Durham, in November, 1794, to which the bulk of the northerners betook themselves,¹ and whence, fourteen years later, they finally migrated to Ushaw.

The English Benedictine community, the relics of which landed in this country with their fellow-sufferers in March, 1795, likewise proceeded to find a new site on which to reconstitute their Monastery of St. Gregory. This, through the kindness of its owner, Sir Edward Smythe, they found at Acton Burnal, in Shropshire, where they established their community and in their own words² "admitted a few scholars." In this situation they

¹ For a detailed account of the establishment of these Colleges, the reader must be referred to the *History of St. Edmund's*, as above, and to a series of articles by the Rev. William Brown, under the title of "Notes Roundabout," in the *Ushaw Magazine* for November, 1893, and March and June, 1894.

² See advertisement in the *Catholic Directory* for 1799, p. 15.

remained till 1814, in the May of which year they returned to Downside.

Though not having the same connection as the institutions hitherto considered with the Colleges abroad, we must not in surveying the period with which we are concerned, omit mention of Oscott, for the beginnings of its history date precisely from this time. It too was the offspring of the French revolutionary troubles, but in a different manner from the rest. Alarmed at the prospect of losing their places of education on the Continent, the body of Catholic gentlemen composing the well-known Cisalpine Club, had resolved, in March, 1793, that steps should be taken to establish a purely Catholic school for the benefit of the laity of the kingdom; to be managed by a body of governors originally elected by those who subscribed towards the foundation of the institution, and afterwards themselves filling up vacancies in their own ranks. While a committee of the club were considering the best means of putting this scheme into shape, the Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District was contemplating the foundation of a seminary, for the education of his clergy. The result was a combination of the two ideas; the ecclesiastical seminary and the lay school being established together at Oscott, in the beginning of August, 1794. At first they were under independent authorities, but fourteen years later both passed into the hands of the Bishop.¹

The year 1794, so memorable in the annals of the Colleges hitherto mentioned, is not less so in those of Stonyhurst, as we are reminded by its centenary celebration, which occurs in this present month of July.

As has been said, the Jesuits from St. Omers, when expelled from this their first home, had transplanted their establishment, with all its inmates, to Bruges; and when, later, not only their College there was wrecked, but the Society itself to which they belonged, had yet continued to keep the former alive at Liege, and to continue—now as ex-Jesuits—a corporate existence. During twenty-one years the Liege Academy, as it was styled, had flourished and prospered, but though the revolutionary troubles were slower in making themselves felt than at Douay and St. Omers, the tide of French invasion flowed steadily in its direction. Throughout the summer months of 1794 there

¹ See an account of the beginnings of Oscott in the *Dublin Review*, January, 1893, by Father W. Amherst, S.J. (in an article on the Minute Book of the Cisalpine Club).

were constant alarms, and though hopes and fears for some time ebbed and flowed, early in July it was seen that the inmates of the English College must prepare for the worst, for the Austrians, having sustained a serious defeat, were about to abandon the city to the enemy. With those of their pupils who had not already withdrawn from what threatened to become a scene of danger, the superiors of the Academy resolved to set out in search of safer quarters, and though at one moment they thought of trying Bavaria, it soon became evident that in England alone could they really be secure. Hiring barges in which to convey themselves and as much of their property as possible down the Meuse, they set out on their pilgrimage, the principal features of which are thus described by one of the boys who took part in it, George Lambert Clifford.

"The College broke up and left Liege on July 14, 1794, in boats down the Meuse to Maestricht. Left Maestricht, July 23, in boats for Wissem, Veulo, Dort, Grave, St. Andries, and to Rotterdam, on the feast of St. Ignatius, July 31, 1794. On August 7th we left Rotterdam in the *John of Yarmouth*, Captain Scott, and reached Harwich, the 13th of August. Thence to Yarmouth and Hull, from which place we went by water to Selby, and from thence by canal in boats to Skipton, in Yorkshire, and from thence I walked on foot¹ through Clitheroe to Stonyhurst, which I reached on August 29, 1794."

In connection with the history of this migration, an interesting touch is added to the picture of the times by a note of one of the party, informing us that when at sea between Rotterdam and Harwich, they learnt from a passing vessel of the fall and death of Robespierre, and that having shortly afterwards neared the English coast they heard the sound of much firing, which they supposed to be a token of joy at this same news. It appeared later, however, that it was nothing more than the celebration of the birthday of the Prince of Wales, afterwards King George IV.

The asylum opened to the wanderers, in which they were able at once to reconstitute their College, was the gift of Mr. Thomas Weld, of Lulworth, one of its former pupils during the period of its existence at Bruges. The boys who made the whole journey from Liege to Stonyhurst were twelve in number, and were afterwards distinguished as the "apostles." Before

¹ The distance is twenty-three miles.

Christmas they had been rejoined by a number of their companions who had in the first instance sought their respective homes, and the regular work of the establishment was carried on with little more interruption than would have been caused by the ordinary midsummer holidays, had they been able to remain in their old quarters.

One item may be added to this sketch of the Stonyhurst migration, which serves to show with what manner of inconveniences our forefathers had to be content to put up a century ago. One of the Liege boys, who had not awaited the final dispersion, making his way home by himself, contrived to reach the English coast, but landed at Dover without a penny in his pocket. His home was in Herefordshire, and thither he had to tramp, begging his way as he went, arriving at length in so disreputable a guise that the servants, taking him at first for a beggar, were for driving him off the premises. He subsequently rejoined his schoolfellows at Stonyhurst.

Though its actual foundation dates from a period eight years later, Ampleforth is another of our Colleges intimately connected with our subject. This represents the continental priory at Dieulouard, in Lorraine, founded in 1606. When the Revolution broke out this house was harassed with arbitrary impositions and exactions, all of which were justified on the general principle that "Englishmen must be rich." In the beginning of October, 1793, passports were with difficulty obtained for the younger students to return to England. On the 12th of the same month the house was beset by five or six hundred armed men, between eight and nine at night. The Superior and two others made their escape with difficulty; four were imprisoned at Pont-à-Musson, and all the property taken possession of in the name of the Republic, one and indivisible.¹

It was not till 1802 that the members of this community were able to re-establish themselves on English ground, near Ampleforth, in Yorkshire, where their successors still remain.²

¹ See Petre, *ut sup.* p. 29.

² As has been seen, Downside represents the ancient College of St. Gregory's, Douay, as does Ampleforth that of Dieulouard. The present English Benedictine College at Douay, though it has succeeded to the old premises, represents a different establishment. When the property of St. Gregory's was recovered at the Restoration, the community to whom it belonged being already established at Downside, transferred it to their brethren, the representatives of the English Monastery of St. Edmund, in Paris, who, like themselves, had been ejected from their property at the Revolution. These took possession of it in 1818, since which time it has been known no longer as St. Gregory's, but St. Edmund's. Ampleforth is "St. Lawrence's."

It would be far too long a task to attempt a sketch of the fortunes at the same period of the communities of English nuns which had resided abroad, though their history is full of interest and deserves to be told. For the present it must suffice to cast a glance at the conditions under which the institutions already spoken of commenced their home life. Little need be said of the difficulties inseparable from the crisis through which they had been forced to pass, of the discomforts that had to be endured, through the lack alike of material accommodation and pecuniary resources, and the endurance displayed in sustaining them. At Old Hall the divines had to be lodged in outhouses—workshops and stables hastily and rudely fitted for their reception—one of which, we are told, "being built of wood, and being both small and uncomfortable," was named "the Ship," while the little cells into which its occupants were thrust obtained the title of "coffins." At Crook Hall we read of such a difficulty in obtaining provisions in winter, on account of the loneliness of its situation, as at times to necessitate the formation of a foraging party to fetch in supplies from a village some way off.¹ At Stonyhurst, a contemporary letter describes how, to warm thirty persons in the depth of winter, in a large school-room, paved with flag-stones, with two windows and as many doors, both full of chinks, there was a fire-grate twelve and a half inches long and eight deep, which at the top had a width of six inches and three-eighths, and at the bottom, of three and five-eighths.

These specimens may suffice to furnish an idea of the manifold hardships of various kinds which had to be faced, which might be illustrated by numberless details of the like nature. It is more to our purpose to point out the great and salutary revolution effected in the matter of Catholic education by the transplantation to English soil of the Colleges from beyond the seas. Invaluable as these had been to the cause they were created to serve, their distant situation, and the trouble and expense required to send boys to them had been felt as a serious drawback to their utility, and we find the Catholic nobility and gentry, a few years later, in an address presented to the Pope,² speaking of the great inconvenience with which their sons were sent to them. These establishments were now rendered easy of access, to those who could not,

¹ *Ushaw Magazine*, June, 1894, p. 161.

² In connection with the affairs of Stonyhurst: this was in 1810.

under former conditions, have utilized them, and they brought home to the minds of a large section of the Catholic public larger and sounder views on the subject of education than they had hitherto been in a position to appreciate. It is true that the Colleges themselves were, as we should now consider, terribly antiquated in their methods, but it is by no means clear that they compared unfavourably in this respect with the great English schools of the period, and it is quite certain that their system, whatever may have been its faults, was immensely better than that of the smaller schools for Catholics already existing in England. It was inevitable that these, utterly shut out as they necessarily were from all communion with the intellectual life of the country, and compelled to maintain a needy and precarious existence, should have quickly lapsed into a condition, which, if we gauge them by their own account of themselves, cannot have been very satisfactory. Thus we find in the prospectus of one of the most considerable amongst them, such a very jejune programme as the following: "The more advanced will be taught the principles of mensuration and book-keeping, if required the rudiments of English grammar, &c. Endeavours will be used to make them understand what they read, and to give them a true taste for what may afterwards prove an useful and instructive amusement. Geography will be encouraged as an amusement: and the first principles, at least, will be taught (at leisure hours) those who are willing to learn." A smaller school asks twelve guineas a year "for reading, writing, accompts, board, lodging, washing, mending," &c. Others display a large and varied bill of fare, which does not tend to inspire much confidence, when it is considered how limited must have been the staff employed to teach. Thus in one instance, when the number of pupils is limited, and the pension no more than twenty pounds yearly, the course embraces "the English, Latin, and Greek languages, writing, arithmetic, various branches of the mathematics, with navigation, geography, and astronomy." Another establishment undertakes, for the sum of eighteen guineas, to accommodate young gentlemen with board and washing, instruct them in the art of reading with proper emphasis, ground them well in the rudiments of the English grammar, teach them the Latin and Greek languages, history, geography, writing, accompts, book-keeping, algebra, and the mathematics: an additional charge of three guineas for French or Spanish.

The old Colleges, on the other hand, had a standard and tradition, which assured at least some order in their work, and had, moreover, far better means of securing the services of competent teachers, and though it may possibly be true, as is asserted by a writer in the *Catholic Gentleman's Magazine*,¹ that they had themselves degenerated from their old efficiency, the change of their position speedily forced them to recognize the need of improvements, which the resources at their disposal sufficed to effect. Had they been allowed to continue on the Continent, they must inevitably, in the quick-living age that was to follow, have got altogether out of touch with English life. Their enforced migration of a hundred years ago, saving them from this danger, was an all-important factor in their development which has secured for them the honourable position they hold to-day.

J. G.

¹ This periodical, established in 1818, after issuing eight numbers, closed its career in the same year.

Anglican Prelates on Marriage Dispensations.

IN the debate the other day in the House of Lords on the Bill for permitting marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister,¹ the Lord Chancellor took up the position that, "if this be a marriage not contrary to the Divine law, and which, on the whole, is not likely to be mischievous in its consequences, the State ought not to prohibit the marriage, but ought to leave those who desire to contract it free to carry out their wishes." He then went on to maintain that the marriages in question could not be deemed contrary to the Divine law, urging in the first place the disagreement of ecclesiastical opinion on the subject, and, in the next place, the practice which prevails in the Catholic Church of giving dispensations for these marriages.

It is said that the principle has been maintained in the Christian Church throughout all ages, and that such a marriage as this has always been regarded as contrary to Divine law. I have great difficulty in accepting that. I never knew that the Church of Rome granted dispensations to persons to break the Divine law. The late Cardinal Manning did not maintain that such a marriage was contrary to the Divine law.

For this piece of reasoning, Lord Herschell was taken severely to task by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The question has been asked whether marriage with a deceased wife's sister would have been allowed by dispensation by the Church of Rome, if the Papal See had understood it to be contrary to the Divine law. The question shows a strange misapprehension of the claims of the Papal See. The theory is that the Pope is the Vicar of Christ, and that therefore he can dispense with things which may be forbidden by the Divine law. That is the whole theory of dispensations; and it is in accordance with this theory that very recently dispensations have been granted for the marriage of uncles and nieces, and, if the question is at all to the point, we must say that the marriage of uncles and aunts (*sic*) is not contrary to the Divine law.

And if, according to the Archbishop, the Popes have arrogated to themselves an unauthorized power to dispense in laws which

¹ *Times*, June 16, 1894.

they believe to be Divine, according to Lord Selborne and the Bishop of Salisbury, they have carried their practice of unholy dispensation so far as seriously to undermine the hold of this Divine law on the consciences of men.

Lord Selborne, in his contribution to the debate, said :

All Christendom down to a comparatively recent period were agreed in thinking that Christians went by that general law (laid down in the Old Testament), and the marriage code founded on it, and, but for the unfortunate adoption of the Roman Catholic system of dispensation—which did not stop at affinity—there would never probably have been any question about the matter.

And the Bishop of Salisbury, in a letter to the *Times* of June 18, 1894, writes :

No dispensation exactly covering the present case was made until the year 1500, when Alexander VI. gave one to Emmanuel, King of Portugal. That of Martin V., somewhat earlier, was not exactly on the same point. Since that date the system of dispensations has upset the whole security, not only of this, but of other salutary enactments. It is not too much to say that there would be no such encroachment as this on the sanctity of the marriage law unless the Bishops of Rome had betrayed their trust in past ages. And the present Pope, alas ! has followed their bad example.

I am thankful to believe that our own English prelates of that communion are awakening to the danger, but I fear that their own practice in granting dispensations, both here and on the Continent, almost as a matter of course, renders their assistance in this matter less influential than it might otherwise have been. The Bishops of the Church of England, who know more about the subject, both historically and practically, than any other class of men, have therefore the call to come forward to enlighten the public conscience on this matter.

Here is a serious charge against the Catholic Church, and Englishmen may naturally ask whether or not we accept it as well-founded. Our answer must be that it is not well-founded. Although the Archbishop corrected Lord Herschell so magisterially, the latter was quite accurate when he stated that the dispensations sometimes given in the Catholic Church for marriage with a deceased wife's sister are given in the confident belief that the impediment is of ecclesiastical, not Divine, origin ; and although it may surprise the Archbishop to learn it, the impediment forbidding the marriage of uncle with niece is likewise held by our theologians to be one of purely ecclesiastical law. Nor again, with all due deference to Lord Selborne and the Bishop of Salisbury, is it true that these

particular impediments were universally held to be of Divine law up to the sixteenth century; or that the practice of giving dispensations from them has tended to destroy the public estimation of the sanctity of the marriage law. On the contrary, that practice has helped to maintain it.

The phrase "Divine law" is one which needs to be carefully understood. Catholic theologians distinguish between the "*natural* Divine law" and the "*positive* Divine law." The "natural Divine law" is the Divine law enforcing the observance of those distinctions of right and wrong which arise out of the very nature of man, considered as a moral being with moral relations towards his Creator, his neighbours, and himself. It is not necessary that God should enforce by any positive utterance observance of the natural law. The essential character of its precepts is their moral necessity. They are so necessary in moral agents, such as we are, that God *must* require of us their observance, and we have in this moral necessity a sufficient proof of His legislative will. Still He may, out of regard for the weakness of our reasoning powers and our proneness to self-deceit, add a positive declaration of His will beyond that to which the nature of things points, and the deliverance of the Decalogue to the Jewish people was of this sort. All the precepts of the Decalogue, with two exceptions to be noted presently, belong to the "natural Divine law," and an essential character of all precepts of the Divine natural law is immutability. They are so essentially demanded by the constitution of man's moral nature that God Himself cannot change them.

By the "positive Divine law" is meant whatever is prescribed by God in the exercise of His *free* will. The formula for these precepts is that "they are wrong because forbidden," whereas the formula for the precepts of the natural law is that "they are forbidden because wrong." Since the positive precepts are not necessitated by the condition of man's moral nature, their existence cannot be inferred from it, and a *positive* utterance on the part of God is therefore requisite in order to transform them from desirable actions into Divine law. This is why they are called *positive* Divine law. Positive Divine precepts are mutable or not according as their Divine Author intended them to be changed or not. Hence, if enacted for a lasting object, we may be confident that they will not be changed; if for a temporary object, we are prepared to hear of their abolition when that object has expired. It is also conceivable

that God might enact some positive law the object of which, even while it lasts, does not exclude, or even requires, an occasional dispensation, for weighty reasons and under special circumstances. Should such laws be discoverable, we should be prepared to learn that some concomitant provision has been made for the exercise of dispensing power, either by God Himself or by some earthly authority appointed to act in His name.

The Catholic Church is an example of an institution of the Divine positive law destined to last till the Day of Judgment, and in consequence all its fundamental features—as the Papal Supremacy, the Episcopate as the *normal* form of Church government, and the seven sacraments—are absolutely immutable.

The Jewish Church is an example of an institution of the Divine positive law destined to fulfil only a temporary purpose, and therefore abrogated with the incoming of the Catholic Church. The abrogation has taken away not only the Temple, with its Priesthood and various sacrifices, but also all the social Levitical laws. This statement must, however, be carefully understood. It has been said that some Levitical laws, like the Decalogue, have for their object actions already condemned or sanctioned by the natural law. In that case the obligation of the natural law of course remains unaffected by the death of the Synagogue; but the positive sanction which they received on Mount Sinai expired with the dispensation to which it belonged. If the Ten Commandments continue to have the force of a positive law, they can have it only in virtue of a re-enactment for the Christian Church. When this consideration is borne in mind, it is seen why certain Catholics refuse to be bound by the precise terms of the Third (or as Protestants call it, the Fourth) Commandment. So far as the Third Commandment enjoins that a certain time be periodically set apart for the worship of God, it belongs to the Divine natural law. But so far as it prescribes the Sabbath (*i.e.*, the Saturday) as the particular time for the fulfilment of this natural obligation, and abstention from work as the particular mode of honouring the day, this commandment was of positive law, and has been abolished, to be re-enacted somewhat differently by the Church; namely, by a change of the day from the Saturday to the Sunday, by the addition of an obligation to hear Mass, and by a less stringent interpretation of the obligation to abstain from work.

In like manner there may possibly be a point belonging only to positive Divine law in the First (which among Protestants is the Second) Commandment of the Decalogue. Here, however, all depends on the true meaning of the Biblical text. If, as is far more probable, the words, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven thing; thou shalt not bow to it or adore it," are to be construed, "Thou shalt not make such a graven thing for the purpose of giving it (Divine) worship," the precept belongs to the natural law, and is unchangeable. But if, as some commentators take them, the words contain a precautionary prohibition, that is, a prohibition even to set up any sculptured representation, for fear lest, in the circumstances and temperament of the age, it might come to be treated as a god, and made an object of improper worship, then the prohibition could only have belonged to the positive Divine law, and is now obsolete. There was no need to re-enact it for days when the danger no longer exists, and when, as the late Dr. Arnold somewhere remarks, the mystery of the Incarnation, by exhibiting God in human form, has entirely transformed the conditions of the question.

From what has now been said, it is manifest that the Levitical List of Marriage Impediments (Levit. xviii. 6—18) belongs likewise, *as such*, to the Divine positive law of the Old Testament. Hence, *as such*, it has been abolished, and if any, or all, of its prohibitions are still binding on Christians, this is either because they belong also to the natural law, or else because, and in so far as, the Catholic Church has re-enacted them. We say, because the Catholic Church has re-enacted them. Of course, in the abstract, it is conceivable that our Lord, in founding His Church, may have re-enacted them Himself. But this cannot be assumed without proof, and the tradition of the Catholic Church is that He did not Himself give laws of this kind to His Church, but left them to the authority and prudence of the rulers He had set over her.

Mention was made of a third possible class of positive Divine laws, those which from their character admit, or even require, occasional dispensation, for weighty reasons and under special circumstances. Of that class it was observed that, supposing it to exist, we should anticipate a provision made for the exercise of the needful dispensing power. This is the ground on which some Catholic theologians hold that the Pope has a certain limited power of dispensing in the Divine law.

The cases, however, which they have in mind, are few in number—that of dispensations from the obligation of vows and promissory oaths occupying the primary place among them—and it is difficult to discover about any of them traces of a *positive* Divine law; whilst dispensation in the Divine natural law is an idea which, though it has commended itself to some few authors who used a different terminology, is deemed most unacceptable by the vast majority. The common opinion is, therefore, that the Pope cannot dispense in any Divine law, natural or positive. Still the difference between the theologians who hold this opinion and those who hold the opposite is one of words rather than of things. They are united in recognizing the Pope's power of intervention in the cases they have in view; but whereas one side regards the power as a power of dispensing in the Divine law, the other explains it differently. Thus, when the Pope dispenses from the vows of the religious life, the latter would say he is not dispensing in any Divine *law*, for none such exists, but as the representative of God on earth, he is dispensing from a certain Divine proprietary right. When a man makes a vow, he makes a gift to God of his life, to be devoted in some special manner to the Divine service, and he thus resembles one who gives land or money for the building of a church. The Church in either case can accept on the part of God, and after acceptance can for sufficient reasons remit in part or in whole to the donor, and with this remission the obligation of the donor ceases. Such a power in the earthly representatives of God is both necessary for the spiritual welfare of mankind, and is more easily intelligible than a power to dispense in Divine law.

For a further treatment of this subject, the reader may be referred to Father Harper's *Peace through the Truth*,¹ or to Ballerini's *Opus Theologicum Morale*.²

Enough has been said about it for the purpose of the present article, if it has been made clear that the Archbishop of Canterbury, when he spoke of the Pope claiming to dispense in the Divine law *in any case at all*, was giving as the acknowledged doctrine of the Catholic Church, a theory held only by a small and decreasing number of her theologians. As to any claim to be dealing with the Divine law when dispensing from

¹ Second Series, chap. iii. This standard work on the question of Marriage Dispensations is deserving of more attention than it receives from those interested in the subject. May we recommend it to the notice of the Bishop of Salisbury.

² Vol. i. tr. iii. *De Legibus*, pp. 377—386.

matrimonial impediments, no Catholic authority of any repute ever now thinks of ascribing it to the Pope. Lord Herschell, we repeat it, was absolutely right when he stated that the impediments from which Papal dispensations are given are only those understood to be of ecclesiastical origin. He might have added of unquestionable ecclesiastical origin.

Let us now turn to the matrimonial impediments themselves, of consanguinity and affinity, and see what claim all or any of them have to be regarded as of Divine law. We have already seen that in virtue of their place in the Levitical list they can claim no Divine enactment for the times of the Christian Church. This at least is the Catholic doctrine, the doctrine which the Archbishop undertook to expound, and if it is not also the doctrine of the Anglican Bishops, who, according to the Bishop of Salisbury, "know more about the subject, both historically and practically, than any other class of men," some positive proof of the contrary seems required from them; for otherwise the principle must apply that where the whole is abolished, the parts are abolished inclusively. Perhaps, however, these prelates would seek the necessary positive proof in the array of evidence from Fathers and Councils which Dr. Pusey alleged in the republication of his evidence before the Royal Commission of 1848, founding thereupon the statement that "in the deliberate judgment of the Church for fifteen hundred years (that is, till the Council of Trent) Leviticus xviii. was supposed to be part of the moral law and unchangeable." But in that case we may perhaps be permitted to call their lordships' attention to Father Harper's¹ masterly examination of the supposed evidence. The wonder is that a man of Dr. Pusey's undoubted erudition should have ventured to bring forward evidence so obviously insufficient and often irrelevant.

These Levitical prohibitions do not, then, belong to the Divine positive law. But do all, or any of them, belong to the Divine natural law? There is one prohibition which certainly does; the prohibition of marriage between parent and child. No one ever thought of doubting about that. But when we come to the prohibition of marriage between brother and sister, differences of opinion begin to show themselves. Indeed, the greater mass of Catholic theological opinion denies that such marriages are annulled by the natural law, and the argument on which they rely seems to be conclusive. The natural law is

¹ *Peace through the Truth.* Second Series, chap. ii.

immutable, and does not in consequence admit of dispensation even by God Himself. If, then, this particular class of marriages falls under it, how are we to explain the marriages of Cain and Abel? Can we suppose that God, in arranging the mode of origin of the human race, so arranged it as to necessitate at the outset a violation of the natural law which He was impressing on its conscience? Still, we are here dealing with a purely speculative question. No one denies the grave impropriety, under present circumstances, of marriage between brother and sister, and the Church never has and never will cease to forbid them without the slightest hope of dispensation. She never, as has been already observed, dispenses in any impediment concerning which there can exist a serious doubt whether it belongs to the natural law.

Marriage, however, between brother and sister marks the limit within which such doubts exist among Catholic theologians. As soon as we pass beyond those limits to the less proximate degrees of consanguinity and affinity, there is general agreement among the Catholic theologians that they are prohibited only by positive ecclesiastical law, the natural law not touching them. It will be sufficient to inquire whether this general agreement is not justified in the case of marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, or between Uncle and Niece. The former is the one which came directly under the consideration of the House of Lords, and the other was named by the Archbishop of Canterbury as an instance of what no one would hesitate to ascribe to the Divine law.

Curiously enough, these two prohibitions, which are so confidently ascribed to the natural law, have not even a place in the list given in Leviticus, c. xviii. That by itself would not amount to a decisive refutation of the Archbishop's doctrine, since the Levitical list, as we now have it, may be incomplete. But the omissions become significant when we learn that the Jews did not understand these two kinds of marriages to be forbidden them. Yet so it was.

As regards marriage between uncle and niece, Cardinal Cajetan, writing in the sixteenth century, tells us that "such marriages were always allowed among the Jews, and even to this day among them an uncle marries his brother's daughter." Kalisch in his prefatory essay to Levit. c. xviii. bears similar witness: "Jewish tradition . . . not only permitted but encouraged marriage between niece and uncle, since Sarah

was supposed to have been Abraham's niece."¹ We read, too, in the Bible itself that Caleb gave his daughter in marriage to his younger brother,² Caleb being a specially good man, and no suggestion being made in the text that in promoting the marriage he was doing wrong.

As regards marriage with a deceased wife's sister we have the valuable testimony of Chief Rabbi Adler,³ who was consulted by the Royal Commissioners in 1848, and who stated that such marriages were common among the Jews in all countries where they are not prohibited by law, and were frequent in England prior to the passing of the 5th and 6th William IV.

In view of these facts we may perhaps be allowed to believe that the two kinds of marriages of which we have been speaking do not fall under the Divine law. At all events, we shall continue to believe this, until the Anglican Bishops, out of the treasures of their extensive knowledge, have supplied us with conclusive arguments not yet disclosed. And if this point is made good, it follows that the Popes cannot during the last three hundred years have been encroaching by their dispensations on the sanctity of the marriage law. If this law is not Divine, they have only dispensed in what they themselves enjoined. Still, we are not denying the importance of prohibiting marriages within these close degrees, or even within more remote degrees of kindred, and although the authority which prohibits is within its right when it dispenses from its own prohibition, it may still be that culpable laxity has been shown in the exercise of dispensing power. Such an authority as the Pope is bound in conscience to supplement the natural law by needful positive law, and this of marriage impediments is manifestly among the laws which are thus needful. The Pope is bound, therefore, to prescribe these impediments, and to see that the end for which they are prescribed is not nullified by any counter-action. Can, then, Lord Selborne and the Bishop of Salisbury's indictment be sustained on this humbler footing? Is it true that the Popes, although they have not sanctioned breaches of any Divine law, have nevertheless by their constant dispensations practically annulled the force of a most important human law of their own creation?

This raises in the first place the question whether dispensation is desirable in any case at all. In English administration, as we know, dispensation, since the reign of William III.,

¹ *Old Testament in Hebrew and English.* ² Judges i. 13. ³ See ap. Harper, p. 115.

has no place whatever. It is regarded as an abominable thing, and it is perhaps natural that Anglican Bishops, brought up to this iron system, should be prejudiced violently in its favour. But the Catholic Church has never governed on these lines, and she may not unreasonably point for her justification to the argumentative encounter between the two sides in the recent parliamentary debate. The advocates of the Bill laid stress on the hardships occasionally caused by the prohibition; the opponents on the undesirability of the marriages which if once permitted would multiply rapidly. Under this iron system there is no medium between absolute permission and absolute prohibition. Under a system like ours which admits of dispensation, it is possible to prevent, by a general law, the wholesale introduction of undesirable marriages, and at the same time to relieve the pressure in special cases by dispensations. And this is what the Church has always aimed at doing. Dispensations are not given wildly, but on representations made of grave and exceptional reasons; and the closer the bond of consanguinity or affinity from which the dispensation is sought, the graver must be the reasons pleaded.

Let us state this case for the propriety of dispensations in a broader manner. Good and evil are so compounded together in human affairs that we must take them together; if we want the good, we must take along with it the attendant evil. It results also from this combination of good and bad that in determining what we will do, we must strike the balance between the two, so as to select that course of action in which the good predominates; and this necessity must therefore be before the mind of the legislator when he is devising his law. He proposes to himself a certain general good as the end in view, and then endeavours, so far as the nature of a general law will permit, to eliminate the attendant evil. He knows, however, that after all his careful provisions, particular cases will arise when the proportions will be inverted, and the law bring to the individual more of harm than of good. But such cases a legislator cannot take into account. Then comes the administrator on to the scene, whether he be the same person as the legislator or another. The administrator will have to determine whether, when these exceptional cases of great hardship for the individual are brought before him, he can grant a dispensation without prejudice to the general good and the maintenance of the law. If he cannot, the individual must be

sacrificed to the community. But, to confine our attention to the Church's administration of the marriage law, the Church believes it possible to grant dispensations, of course in a prudent and not too lavish manner, without destroying the beneficial effects of the general law. The Bishop of Salisbury and Lord Selborne, as we have heard, think she is mistaken, alarmingly mistaken in this view, and that by her lavish dispensations she has stirred up a widespread dissatisfaction with the impediment now under consideration, which has already forced its abolition in many European countries and will perhaps succeed in forcing its abolition here. Still we must remind our illustrious censors that it is unfair to charge the Catholic Church with these acts of repeal which she did not grant, but the civil power in despite of her, and which were demanded not by her faithful children, but by those who had thrown off the yoke of her authority; and that such a charge is not only unfair, but also absurd, when it proceeds from the representatives of a Church and country which are primarily responsible for the spread throughout what once was Christendom of the great solvent of the sanctity of the marriage bond, the iniquitous Divorce Court.

Within the Catholic Church—that is, among those for whom its authority still counts—there is no consciousness of any weakening of regard for the law of matrimonial impediments, so far as it regards the impediment in question, or that which the Archbishop of Canterbury has brought into comparison with it. There is among Catholics a general and deep-rooted dislike of such marriages, manifestly due to the Church's law supervening on and strengthening the natural feeling. The result is that they are very rare amongst us; marriages between uncle and niece very rare indeed. The dislike for them controls the majority directly, and others indirectly. The latter know too that unless they can offer reasons of a sufficiently powerful kind, they cannot hope for a dispensation; and it is the way with human nature to accommodate its hopes to its powers.

With these strong defences for the general law, it becomes possible to show consideration to the cases in which the evil caused by departure from the law would be slight in comparison with the good likely to result from a dispensation. That this is so will be readily perceived, if some of the recognized causes of dispensation are borne in mind. They are classified by the Roman courts as *private* and *public*. Among private causes are set the *smallness of the district*. Marriages, as we know, arise

out of acquaintanceships and friendships, and the chances of them are (perhaps in these days, we should say, were) largely affected by the district in which the parties live. This consideration would specially affect those of the better class, as being less numerous, for the Church never meant to place her children in the alternative of not marrying at all or marrying out of their class. The *poverty of a widow burdened with children*, is another recognized cause. If such a woman has an offer from one who will be responsible for the support of the children and she is not likely to find another similar, it would be a hard case for her and her children to be obliged to refuse the offer. *The revalidation of a marriage contracted in good faith* is another. If a marriage has been contracted in good faith, and it afterwards turns out that there was an unknown impediment, capable of removal by dispensation, which invalidated it, it would be extremely hard not to use the power and set all straight. *The personal character of one of the parties* might also be a sufficient cause; for instance, if he were a good Catholic, and, from the nature of the region, the alternative were likely to be either abstention from marriage altogether, or marriage with one of a different religion who would give no security for the Catholic education of the children.

Public causes are those in which the public good, spiritual or temporal, is likely to be secured or promoted by the marriage. *Royal alliances*, as we know, have often been the means of putting an end to wars, or religious persecutions, or of bringing other great advantages to countries. This was the motive alleged by Henry VII. when soliciting the dispensation for the marriage of his son, Henry VIII., with Catharine of Aragon: namely, the maintenance of peace between England and Spain. *The preservation of an illustrious family in the same blood* is also a public cause, since at times it may have important consequences for the public good. The Bishop of Salisbury speaks of the present Pope as an offender by reason of the dispensations he has given. The allusion is to the dispensation granted some years since to the late Duke of Aosta to marry his niece. But here, too, a public as well as a private cause was in view. It is easy to perceive the reasons which would have weighed with Leo XIII. in granting it. In the first place, seeing how necessarily strained are the present relations between the Pope and the House of Savoy, the Pope would naturally be reluctant to strain them further by refusing a dispensation on which they

had set their hearts and which it was absolutely within his power to grant. Certainly, if he had refused the dispensation, the very same critics who have been so loud in denouncing him for his laxity would have been equally loud in attributing his refusal to a petty spite. Again, the Duke of Aosta, though the victim of his unfortunate position, was a man largely well disposed and anxious to do right; whilst, on the other hand, the Princess whom he sought to marry was the good daughter of a singularly good and pious Catholic mother. The Pope may well have thought that such a marriage offered fair hopes of spiritual good to the parties and to the public, sufficient to counterbalance the undesirability of an alliance between persons so closely related.

These are a few specimens of the causes for which dispensations are granted, and should serve to make it clear how reasonable the Church is in her procedure, and how justified we were at the commencement of the article in claiming that the system of dispensations, so far from tending to weaken, tends to strengthen the respect for the marriage laws in the hearts of the faithful. It strengthens it by drying up the source of that dissatisfaction in hard cases which among non-Catholics is the motive cause of the demand to have the impediment abolished.

It only remains now to say a few words in explanation of the course taken by Catholics in opposing or supporting Lord Dunraven's Bill. The majority of the Catholic peers have opposed it, a minority have supported it, whilst many have preferred to abstain from voting. Conspicuous among Catholics outside Parliament are our Bishops, who seem all opposed to the Bill. The Bishop of Salisbury finds in this opposition of our Bishops a state of mind which they would certainly disown. He ascribes it to the fact that they "are awakening to the danger"¹ to which the reckless dispensations of our Church have brought us all. The true explanation of their attitude, and likewise of the attitude of the Catholics who supported the Bill, is very simple and obvious. We Catholics know that marriage between two baptized persons is a sacrament, and that in consequence the only public authority which can effectually prescribe or remove diriment matrimonial impediments is the authority of the Catholic Church. The English Parliament is no more able to abolish these impediments than it is able to abolish the moon. Now the Catholic Church has re-enacted by her own authority

¹ Vid. *supr.* p. 323.

all the Levitical impediments, and has added others besides. Among the latter is that which annuls marriage with a deceased wife's sister, a kind of marriage which, apart from exceptional circumstances, the Church dislikes, although she does not believe it to be prohibited by Divine law. Supposing, then, Lord Dunraven's Bill to pass, marriages (among the baptized) contracted with a deceased wife's sister would remain in the eyes of God and of the Catholic Church, just as null as they are now; that is to say, when no Papal dispensation has intervened, and where it has intervened they would remain as good and sound as in similar circumstances they are now. Hence the state of things which Catholics must contemplate as destined to result if the Bill should pass is as follows: (1) attempted marriages with a deceased wife's sister among non-Catholic baptized persons would multiply, and as they would be all null and void in the eyes of God, that would in itself be a serious evil. (2) We are all affected in large measure by the moral atmosphere in which we live, and, with these putative marriages multiplying around them the effect upon Catholics might be to make too many of them desire similar marriages and press unduly for dispensations. These would be in our eyes the evil effects of the Act. There would, on the other hand, be one good effect. (3) It would facilitate the action of the Church in granting a dispensation and acting upon it, when the circumstances seemed to her to require it, for at present she finds herself in such cases in a practical difficulty. Although the invalidations of the civil law do not really invalidate marriages valid by the law of the Catholic Church, it is always undesirable for a Catholic to enter upon a marriage which the civil law disallows.

We can now understand at once the motives of our Bishops and of those Catholic peers who opposed the Bill, and likewise of the peers who supported it. The latter evidently looked to the benefit accruing from the Bill which has been set down in the third place, and they perhaps said to themselves: "This is the only point in which the Bill will affect us. Let non-Catholics legislate for themselves." The former judged that the good of a few individuals should be subordinated to the general good, and that, since the civil law must be an iron law, it was better to have one which would not give wholesale encouragement to invalid marriages, however much a few individuals might suffer by it.

S. F. S.

*The "Contemporary Review" and the Papal
Encyclical on the Bible.*

II.

WHEN an attack is made on the Holy See after the fashion of that with which I am here concerned, it is obviously of importance that defenders of the Holy Father should show, at least so far as principles are concerned, a united front.¹ It is therefore with very great pleasure that I observe that the line which has been and is being taken in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, in reference to the *Contemporary Reviewer*, is so entirely the same with that which has been taken and will be taken in the pages of THE MONTH. As regards the writer who in the *Tablet* so ably defended the Encyclical against the strictures of Mr. Gore, and who will answer the Reviewer in the pages of the *Contemporary* itself, it may be that in my former article I have created the impression that a wider difference separates us than is in fact the case; and as I should be very sorry to detract in any degree from the full value of whatever he may have to say, perhaps it may be lawful—with this end in view—to add a word or two here on the question of the interpretation of the Encyclical. We (the writer in the *Tablet* and myself) agree—as every one must agree—that the Encyclical teaches that there can be no "error" in the genuine text of Holy Scripture. We agree also that in estimating "error" it would be a mistake to apply to works written in Palestine from two to three thousand years ago or more the historical standard of a very different age and country; somewhat as it would be a mistake to charge with "error" one who only professed to speak in round numbers because he neglected units or fractions. But there is a point beyond which the Encyclical, as it seems to me, forbids us to go in this direction. We must not content ourselves with saying,

¹ My apology for the use of the first person singular throughout these papers must be that I have no claim to express any one's opinion but my own. In the words adopted from Burke by the first Editor of the *Tablet*, "I have no man's proxy."

"God is the Author of Scripture, and so long as God carried out *His* purpose through the Bible (which purpose may have been compatible with the permission of incidental misconceptions historical or scientific), *He* as the Author of the Bible is to be held to have committed no error." Rather we must recognize that the Bible is a human book no less truly than it is Divine, even as Christ our Lord was no less truly Man than He was truly God; and viewing the historical books of Holy Scripture on their human side, we must look not only to the purpose of their Divine Author, but also to that of their human writers; or, rather, we must consider the former as in some degree conditioned by the latter. And while we are careful not to claim for these books—in what concerns merely profane knowledge—a degree of minute precision which may have been alien from the whole tone of thought of their human writers, we must, on the other hand, maintain that they are at least as historically accurate as those writers strove to make them. It is to the human setting of the books, so to say, to the current fashion of speech and of thought (*communis sermo*), and to the Divine purpose as conditioning itself thereby, that we must have recourse, rather than to the Divine purpose pure and simple (as if *that* did not concern itself with profane history or science), if such historical shortcomings as may be proved to exist in the sacred books are to be accounted for in accordance with the teaching of the Encyclical. Practically, however, it is probable that what has here been said, and what the writer in the *Tablet* has taught us concerning the Divine "Economy" as exercised in reference to Holy Scripture, and what Baron Friedrich von Hügel has written in the *Spectator* concerning the "relativity" of historical truth, would lead us all to acquiesce in pretty much the same conclusions as at least hypothetically admissible. It is a question rather of a verbal formula than of a fundamental principle.

But it is time to return to the *Contemporary* Reviewer and his "concrete instances," which I will number in succession from my last paper.

6. The Book of Numbers [he says] tells us (iii. 43) that the Israelite army numbered about 600,000 adult males, and that the first-born males among them amounted to 22,273 exactly, and no more. Now this is not a fact and cannot have been a fact. For it is very well

known that there is one first-born male to every four males, so that there must have been, roughly speaking, 150,000 to an army of 600,000 adults. In other words, whereas the average is really one first-born male to every four male persons, the inspired writer . . . reduces it to one in more than forty males.

The learned writer's arithmetic is here apparently somewhat at fault. His estimate of 150,000 shows that he confounds the number of males with the number of adult males, or, to speak more accurately, of *fighting* males.¹ On the other hand, he gravely invites the reader to suppose that 22,273 out of 600,000 (*his* basis of calculation) gives a proportion of "one in more than forty." Any school-girl could tell him that the proportion is about one in twenty-seven. The main blunder lies, however, in taking 600,000 as the basis of reckoning. He should first compute the total number of males, which may safely be put at 1,200,000 *at least*.² The proportion of the first-born will therefore be about one in fifty-five. This, it might seem, only increases the difficulty; but the Reviewer will at least give us credit for not minimizing it. What, then, is the solution? In the first place, it were well, even on the lowest grounds, and even if the Bible were not inspired, to give the writer of the Book of Numbers credit for not making such a blunder as to compute the proportion of the *total* number of first-born males to the *total* number of male persons as one in fifty-five. The very portentousness of this reckoning ought to have suggested that the method of computation must somehow be wrong. On what principle, then, should it be made? Some have supposed that there is question only of the first-born under twenty years of age. This, however, will not do. For there will have been at the very least 500,000 male persons below that age at the time of the census, as any one may convince himself who will consider the bearing of the statistics given in the second census³ on the question in hand; and although the Reviewer speaks too positively when he writes, "It is very well known that on an average there is one first-born male to every four male persons" (since this depends on the average number of children in a

¹ *Kol-yôtsê tsâbâ*. (Numbers i. 3, seq.)

² Roughly speaking, we may reckon 500,000 under twenty (of whom 300,000 were still surviving forty years later, as we learn from Numbers xxvi.), and 100,000 above sixty, on the hypothesis that sixty was the superior limit of age indicated by the phrase *yôtsê-tsâbâ*.

³ Numbers xxvi.

family), still it must be admitted that a proportion of twenty-two in five hundred, or one in twenty-three, is quite out of the question.¹ For such a proportion of first-born males would obviously imply an average of eleven or twelve sons to a family, and would oblige us to believe that an incredibly small proportion of the Israelites were married. The solution of the difficulty must therefore be looked for in another direction. If the Reviewer will turn to Numbers iii. 12, 13, he will see that, according to a probable interpretation of that passage, the first-born of the womb for whom the Levites were to be substituted were those who had been born *since* the slaying of the first-born in Egypt; that is to say, within the space of a year.² Now, a birth-rate of five or even of six per cent. per annum is by no means impossible; that for Russia in the years 1867—1875 being given as 4.95.³ There is, then, no reason for surprise if the number of male births among the Israelites in the twelve months which followed the Exodus should have amounted to 60,000 or 70,000; and the large proportion of first-born males (say one in three) on this hypothesis may well be accounted for by supposing that an unusually large number of marriages took place immediately after the escape from Egypt, to say nothing of other possible causes of which we are in complete ignorance.⁴ To say that, "speaking humanly, . . . this statement [Numbers iii. 43] is false and absurd," is to say more than any one would be warranted in saying even if the Book of Numbers were a merely human composition. To say it on the grounds alleged

¹ If x be the average number of sons to a family, the proportion of first-born sons to the entire number of males will be $\frac{1}{2x}$. For the number of eldest sons will obviously be $\frac{1}{x}$ of the whole; and of these one-half will have had elder sisters. The explanation suggested by Rosenmüller (*Schol. ad loc.*) and by Birks (in his work on the Exodus) are quite insufficient.

² The Vulgate has, "*Ex quo percussi primogenitos in terra Ægypti, sanctificavi mihi quicquid primum nascitur in Israel*," &c. This is not a literal translation of the Hebrew, *š'yôm hakkôti*, &c., but we believe that it rightly expresses the sense of the passage.

³ *Encycl. Brit.* art. "Population."

⁴ The restriction to those born within the year of the Exodus seems to have been first suggested by Vitringa. It has recently been adopted by Fillion (*ad loc.*), but without any details of computation. Dillmann (*ad loc.*) rejects the explanation too peremptorily. He underrates the population (2,000,000), computes the number of marriages in a year by a percentage drawn from European tables (*viz.* at one per cent.), and takes into account only the children of the *marriages* of a single year. He thus convinces himself that there could not have been more than about 10,000 first-born within the year following the Exodus.

by the writer of the article, is to show that one has not mastered the elements of the problem.¹

Here however, as elsewhere, I have no wish to put forward the solution proposed as the only possible explanation of the difficulty. A very slight acquaintance with such matters should be enough to teach us to how great an extent the Biblical numbers have been subject to corruption. And if it be said that the whole scheme of statistics in the Book of Numbers hangs together in such a way that nothing but a systematic alteration of a whole series of figures would be sufficient to account for the present condition of the text, I reply that such a systematic alteration—though not lightly to be taken for granted—is by no means impossible. Every one who has compared the chronological data supplied by the fifth and eleventh chapters of Genesis, as they are found in the Hebrew, the Septuagint, and the Samaritan texts, is aware not only that "some one has blundered," but that some one has blundered very systematically, viz., by either adding or subtracting 100 to or from every one of a whole series of age-computations.² And that something similar (viz., a systematic and repeated addition or subtraction of 5) has taken place in Numbers iv. may be seen by any one who will be at the pains to compare the Hebrew and the LXX. texts of that chapter. But if systematic additions or subtractions were possible, and did as we know actually take place, one does not see why the pragmatical persons who tampered with the text in this arbitrary fashion should have stopped short at these arithmetical processes, and why the hypothesis of a systematic multiplication of items—say by 10 or 100—should not also be admitted as within the bounds of possibility. And if it were true (a question which need not be

¹ It may be urged that such a birth-rate as we have supposed is inconsistent with the fact that the Israelite population remained practically stationary in point of numbers during the forty years of the wandering, taken together with the fact that the whole of the generation of the wandering died within those forty years. (Cf. Numbers xxvi.) For this, it will be said, gives an average death-rate of 2.5 per cent. per annum, and consequently the birth-rate cannot have been higher. But it is to be remembered that the death-rate in the case of persons under twenty is very much higher than in that of persons above that age; in some cases quite three times as high. If then we assume a death-rate of 7.5 per cent. among those under twenty and of 2.5 per cent. among those between twenty and sixty, we shall have an average death-rate of nearly 5 per cent. and a corresponding birth-rate. And the birth-rate in the first year might well be exceptionally high.

² For the divergent numbers as given in the Hebrew and LXX. texts of these two chapters differ, for the most part, precisely by 100. The tables may be found in almost any commentary on Genesis.

here discussed) that the statistical data of the Book of Numbers imply all or some of those physical impossibilities concerning which it pleased Colenso to make merry, we should have to recognize as a possible solution of the difficulty this very hypothesis of a systematic use of the simple device of multiplication consistently applied throughout.

7. The Reviewer writes:¹

The Book of Numbers states very positively, in two different passages (xx. 23—28, xxxiii. 38, 39), that Aaron died on Mount Hor, and was buried there; while Deuteronomy, on the other hand, affirms quite as categorically that he departed this life at Mosera, which is seven stations distant, and was duly buried there. (Deut. x. 6.)

One would have supposed that the veriest novice in Biblical criticism might have conjectured that the text of Deut. x. 6 in its present condition is corrupt. The passage apparently contained, and in part still contains, an insertion from the list of stations given in Numbers xxxiii. 31, seq., and it is at least probable that the inserted passage has suffered both by omission and by transposition. The Reviewer would do well to study the variant readings of this passage which he will find in Kennicott, and in Holmes and Parsons, *ad loc.*² Alternative solutions of the difficulty may be found in the *Civiltà Cattolica* of May 19th, and in Dr. Driver's article on "Deuteronomy" in the new edition of the *Dictionary of the Bible*.

8. On the same page,³ we are confronted with the familiar objection based upon the apparent contradiction between 1 Samuel xvi. 17—23, where Saul, with the full knowledge of Jesse, appoints David to be his armour-bearer, and 1 Samuel xvii. 55, where the King is ignorant of David's parentage. The limits of our space preclude a full discussion of this interesting question here, and we must be content to refer the Reviewer and our readers to De Hummelauer's treatment of the passage.⁴ One thing is clear, viz., either that the original text has suffered from transposition, or else (which seems to us more probable)

¹ P. 585.

² The Samaritan text in particular gives in a slightly abbreviated form, and with a single omission, the whole list of the stations enumerated in Numbers xxxiii. 31—37, and makes Aaron die at Hor. (See Kennicott's note, *Ibid.*) Our copy of Walton's Polyglot is unfortunately defective here.

³ P. 585.

⁴ *Comm. in Libros Samuelis*, pp. 13, 183—185. Cf. Cornely, *Introd.* II. i. 263, seq.; Kaulen, *Einleitung*, pp. 191, seq.

that the compiler of 1 Samuel has faithfully set down what he found in his sources without being solicitous to follow the chronological sequence of events.¹ The description of David in xvi. 18 suggests that the incidents related in c. xvii. had already taken place.

9. In Chronicles,² says the Reviewer, "we read that the Prophet Elijah forwarded a letter to Jehoram, son of Jehosaphat and King of Judah. . . . The inspired Book of Kings, on the other hand,³ informs us that Elijah had left this world before Jehosaphat died and his son Jehoram could have become King of Judah."

If the Reviewer will read his Bible more carefully, he will find that the inspired Book of Kings does *not* "inform us that Elijah had left this world before Jehosaphat died." The compiler of that book does indeed relate the passing of Elijah before going on to speak of Jehoram's accession; but as to the chronological sequence of these two events he tells us nothing.⁴ The Reviewer's reference to 2 Kings iii., we may add (instead of to viii. 16), suggests that he has confounded Jehoram of Israel with Jehoram of Judah. This, however, does not affect his argument. Once more, however, I may take leave to point out the importance of accuracy in quoting the words of Holy Scripture. It is *not* said in 2 Chron. xxi. 12, that Elijah "forwarded a letter" to Jehoram, but that, "there came to him a writing from (*or of* ?), Elijah," a phrase which *may* be intended to designate a document written by Elijah in his lifetime, but which was brought to light only after his death. Biblical students will hardly need to be reminded of the command more than once given to the prophets to "bind up" or seal "the testimony," *i.e.*, to close or seal a written prediction, in order that when the fulfilment came the prophets' disciples might be able to afford an unquestionable guarantee that it was no fraudulent *vaticinium post eventum*.⁵

10. We now come to a class of objections—most of them very old friends—which concern Assyria and Babylonia and the kings of those countries. Here is one of them.

¹ Any one who will study the passage carefully in the light of De Hummelauer's commentary, will see that the compiler had, or may have had, excellent reasons for departing from the chronological order.

² 2 Chron. xxi. 12.

³ 2 Kings iii.

⁴ Cf. Keil in 2 Chron. xxi. 2; *The Speaker's Commentary*, *ibid.*; Smith, *Dict. Bibl.* s.v. "Jehoram."

⁵ Isaias viii. 16; Daniel viii. 26, xiii. 4, 9.

The Book of Tobias (i. 15), affirms [we are assured] that Sennacherib was the son and successor of Salmanasar (iv.), and we now know from the Cuneiform Inscriptions that he was neither his son nor his immediate successor, but that Salmanasar was succeeded on the throne by Sargon. (p. 586.)

Now if the Reviewer will look at the Greek text of the Book of Tobias he will find that the father of Sennacherib is called, not Salmanasar, but *Enemessar*. And if he will consult a learned review by Bickell in the *Zeitschrift f. Kath. Theologie*, 1878,¹ he will find some good reasons for believing that the name Enemessar represents, not Salmanasar, but Sargon. Sargon is a compound name, consisting of two elements *Sarru-Ginu*. Now as the Babylonian name *Adra-Chasis* became in Greek, by metathesis of its elements, *Chasis-Hadra* (the Xisuthros of Berossus), so also *Sarru-ginu* might well become (with insertion of medial *m*), *Ginum-Sarru* or in Aramaic *'inum-sarru*, and in Greek *Enemessar*.² Of course we are perfectly well aware that in the extant Hebrew and Chaldee texts of Tobias "Salmanasar" (Shalmaneser) is read; but whereas it is easy to see why the well-known name of Salmanasar might be substituted for the unfamiliar "Enemessar," the converse change is not so easily accounted for.³ Hence, with Bickell, we uphold the reading "Enemessar," and the fact that Sennacherib undoubtedly was the son and successor of Sargon gives immensely more probability to his proposed analysis of the name "Enemessar," than that analysis could claim if unsupported by historical considerations.

II. The Reviewer continues :

The memory of this King [Sargon] seems to have very quickly and very completely fallen away among the Jews, so that the storming of

¹ P. 220.

² "Ich halte sogar die Namen für identisch, oder vielmehr Enemessar für eine einfache Umstellung der beiden Worte, aus welchen der Name Sargon besteht." (Bickell, l.c.) For the medial *m* in *Ginum-Sarru* he instances the forms *Nabium-kudur-usur* and *Μαρδοκέμπαδος* (= *Mardukum-pal-addina*); and for the change of *g* into *'ayin*, he cites the well-known instances of *La'amer* (= *Lagamaru*) and *Shin'ar* (= *Sumgir*). It may be added that Dr. Neubauer, who has made the Chaldee and Hebrew texts of Tobias accessible to ordinary students, speaks in the highest terms of Dr. Bickell's article (*The Book of Tobit*, pp. x. seq.); though he does not commit himself to B.'s explanation of "Enemessar."

³ "Die richtige Lesart ist natürlich das *Ἐνεμέσσαρος* der griechischen Recensionem, während das Salmanasar des Cheldeischen Textes nur als eine sehr nahe liegende, vermeintliche Korrektur gelten kaun." (Bickell, *Ibid.* Cf. Cornely, *Introd.* II. i. 384; Kaulen, *Einleitung*, p. 218.)

Samaria by Sargon in 722 B.C. is ascribed by the Book of Kings (2 Kings xviii. 10) to Salmanasar, who was mouldering in his grave at the time. (*ibid.*)

"Mouldering in his grave" is graphic, and might perhaps convey the impression that in 722 B.C. Salmanasar had long been dead. He died, according to the inscriptions, either in that very year or in 723.¹ Moreover, the Reviewer ought to know that the storming of Samaria is *not*, explicitly at least, "ascribed by the Book of Kings to Salmanasar," so that it is unnecessary to have recourse, with Neteler and others, to the now discredited supposition that Sargon was known to the Jews by the name of "Salmanasar." Any one who knows just a little Hebrew will easily be able to verify the statement that the verb in 4 (2) Kings xviii. 10 is in the *plural* number, and that the passage runs thus:

And it came to pass in the fourth year of King Hezekiah . . . that Salmanasar, King of Assyria, came up against Samaria and *besieged it* (*yatsar'aleha*). And *they took it* (*vayyilk'duha*), at the end of three years, in the sixth year of Hezekiah, &c.²

Unless to *besiege* is the same as *storm*, and unless *he* is the same as *they*, nothing is here said of a storming of Samaria by Salmanasar. A very simple explanation would then seem to be that Salmanasar began the siege and Sargon finished it. And in fact since the storming of Samaria is ascribed in the monuments, to the very commencement of Sargon's reign, it is obvious that, the siege having lasted three years, it cannot have been begun by him, at any rate as king.³ It is fair

¹ Cf. Schrader, *Inscr. and O.T.* ii. 169. (English Trans.)

² "Eso adunque non solo non attribuisce a Salmanasar la presa dell' città, ma col brusco cangiar che fa di frase dal singolare al plurale . . . viene a dir poco non che in espressi termini, non essere stato Salmanasar quel che prese la città." (Brunengo, *Babilonia e Nineve*, i. 510.) This explanation seems to have been first suggested by Oppert. (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1871, pp. 702, 703.) It has been adopted by Delitzsch, *In Isai*, xxxvi. 1. Brunengo points out that the indefinite phrase, "they took it," may be not unconnected with the unsettled period which, as the Eponym Canon shows, intervened between the death of Salmanasar and the final establishment of Sargon on the throne. (Cf. Schrader, *Inscr. and O.T.* ii. 183, 184; *Keilinschr. Bibl.* i. 205.)

³ "The city Samaria I besieged, I captured; 27,280 of its inhabitants I carried away," &c. (Schrader, *C. Inscr. and O.T.* English Trans. i. 264; *Keilinschr. Bibl.* ii. 55). Referring to the expression *ina rish sharrûti*, with which the mention of the capture of Samaria commences, Schrader writes: "This 'beginning of rule,' is in other cases expressly distinguished in the inscriptions from the first year of the King's reign. . . . The reason was that the event which was referred to, fell in the remainder of the [last] year of the preceding monarch, *i.e.*, in the year in which the new King ascended the throne. The latter reckoned as his 'first' year that which was inaugurated by himself as King." (ii. 94, 95.)

however to add that Schrader rejects this explanation. He maintains that the plural verb in v. 10 is a false reading (*yilk 'duah* for *yilk 'dah*). The plural, he says, "is rendered suspicious by the unanimous testimony of LXX., Syriac, and Vulgate, which all suggest the singular. . . . It is condemned by the context, which clearly requires the singular. Lastly, it is completely disposed of by the *lâkad* of the parallel passage, xvii. 6."¹

I am by no means convinced of the validity of these reasons, but as an alternative solution of the difficulty has been proposed, I give it here.² Vigouroux supposes that the siege was indeed brought to a successful conclusion by Salmanasar, but that Sargon was the general who actually carried on the operations; and that on the strength of this he reckons the taking of Samaria among the exploits of the outset of his reign.³

However this may be, it would have been more to the purpose to point out that there is not room between 2 (4) Kings xviii. 9 and xviii. 13 for Sargon's reign of seventeen years. For in v. 9 Salmanasar comes up against Samaria in the *fourth* year of Hezekiah, and in v. 13 Sennacherib comes up against the fenced cities of Judah in the *fourteenth* year of the same King. Here the most orthodox of Catholic divines (*e.g.*, Vigouroux, Brunengo, Knabenbauer) have recognized a statement which is in unmistakeable contradiction with the clear data of history as revealed by the cuneiform tablets.⁴ There seems to be absolutely no way out of the difficulty except by supposing either that the number fourteen is incorrect, or that two sections of the history (xviii. 13—xix. and c. xx) have been transposed, or that the date itself has been transposed from xx. 1 to

¹ *Inscr. and O. T.* i. 277, 278. Brunengo writes hereon (and perhaps with reason), "Della qual sicutà lasciamo a lui la malleveria." (l.c.)

² It is well not to forget the old rule *præstat difficilior lectio*. The change from the plural to the singular in this case (especially as it involved no more than a different reading of the vowel points) was one which was almost sure to be made by any one not familiar with the details of the history. But who would have thought of substituting the plural for the singular form? Nor does the parallel passage, xvii. 6, prove anything. For the "King of the Assyrians" here mentioned is not named.

³ *La Bible et les Découvertes Modernes*, iv. 144, seq. Brunengo admits the plausibility of this suggestion. It should be added that Oppert supposes the name of Sargon to have fallen out of the text of 2 (4) Kings xvii. 6. (Vigouroux, *Ibid.*) Neterer holds that Sargon was called Salmanasar by the Jews.

⁴ Unless indeed we have recourse to the hypothesis of a double beginning of Hezekiah's reign. But surely a writer would not adopt a different reckoning in vv. 9 and 13.

xviii. 13; somewhat as the last two verses of Isaias xxxviii. have apparently fallen out of their proper place and have been inserted at the end of the chapter. That the first of the two events related in 2 (4) Kings xx., viz., the sickness of Hezekiah, occurred in the fourteenth year of that King's reign is clear from the promise of fifteen additional years of life (*v.* 6) taken in conjunction with the length of his reign, viz., twenty-nine years (xviii. 2). But Isaias, who mentions the events in the same order as the Book of Kings, had—or may have had—an excellent reason for mentioning the invasion of Sennacherib before he mentioned the sickness of Hezekiah, and the embassy of Merodach-Baladan to which it gave occasion.¹ A scribe, however, failing to observe this inversion of the chronological order, would naturally be led to correct (as he supposed) the date which originally stood in xviii. 13. For he would think that this date (perhaps the twenty-eighth year of Hezekiah) was too late by several years; arguing from xx. 6 compared with xviii. 2. Whichever of the solutions be the correct one, or whether a better yet remains to be suggested, there is really no room, in the serious discussion of serious difficulties, for the slashing methods of the Reviewer.²

12. The Book of Judith [writes the Reviewer] likewise conflicts with the established facts of history. It declares, for instance—among other things, that Nebuchadnezzar reigned in Nineveh at a time when the Assyrian Empire entertained continual relations with the kingdoms of Judah and Israel. And although we may piously believe that this is not an error, . . . we know very well that it is not a fact. (p. 587.)

Now if the above passage has any relevant meaning, it is presumably intended to convey the impression that the writer

¹ Cf. Knabenbauer, *In Isai*, xxxvi. 1. Either Isaias himself or his editor may well have wished to bring the explicit prediction of the Babylonian exile (xxxix. 6, 7) into closer connection with the chapters (xl.—lxvi.) which were written for the consolation of the exiles. If these chapters are not the work of Isaias, the transposition must probably be ascribed to an editor. Every student is aware of the transpositions which have taken place in the text of Jeremias.

² We would direct this writer's attention to a sentence in which Schrader's English Translator (*Inscr. and O.T.* ii. 321) commends the chronological researches of Kamphausen, and declares that he has been successful "chiefly because he has a wholesome respect for the integrity of the Old Testament history and a wholesome scepticism towards artificial theories of 'Zahlenspielererei.'" On the other hand, St. Jerome's weighty testimony to the probable corruption of the numbers in the historical books of the Bible should always be borne in mind. "Relege omnes et V. et N. T. libros, et tantam annorum reperiis dissonantiam . . . ut hujusmodi herere questionibus non tam studiosi quam otiosi hominis esse videatur." (*Ep.* lxxii. n. 5. *Opp.* Edit. Vallarsi, i. 439.)

of the Book of Judith speaks (or supposed himself to speak) of the Babylonian Nabuchodonosor (II. or III.), the conqueror of Nineveh and of Jerusalem. But nothing can be clearer than that, whoever the writer of Judith intended to designate by the name Nabuchodonosor, it was not the author of the Babylonian captivity whom he had in view. For he tells us, *inter alia*, that after Judith's exploit "there was none that made the children of Israel any more afraid in the days of Judith, nor a long time after her death."¹ But is this writer—so confident in his negations—quite sure that there were no earlier kings who bore the name Nabuchodonosor? The inscriptions tell us of at least one,² though until recent times he was quite unknown to history. And although he was of course well aware that this cannot have been the Nabuchodonosor of Judith, the discovery of monuments of this King should teach us caution in laying down negative propositions concerning Babylonian and Assyrian royal names. The Reviewer would urge, no doubt, that the names of the Kings of Nineveh during the whole of the time within which the events recorded in the Book of Judith can possibly be supposed to have fallen are well known from the inscriptions, to say nothing of other sources, and that none of them is called Nabuchodonosor elsewhere than in the Book of Judith. This is, of course, perfectly true. But there still remain the two possible hypotheses (1) of multiple names, and (2) of a textual corruption. It is not so long since the identification of the King Pul who is mentioned in 2 (4) Kings xv. 19, 20 was deemed an almost hopeless problem; his identification with Tiglathpileser II., conjecturally proposed some years ago by Schrader, has now been placed beyond doubt by fresh discoveries.³ And a very little study of ancient history is sufficient to teach the lesson which St. Jerome learnt centuries ago, viz., that proper names were most especially liable to corruption,⁴ and that unfamiliar names were particularly liable to be replaced by others which were more familiar.⁵ Nor ought we to forget

¹ xvi. 25. ² Schrader, *K Schr. Bibl.* iii. 164, seq.

³ *Inscr. and O. T.* i. 219, seq. and p. xxxii. (*Corrections and Annotations.*) Cf. Vigouroux, *La Bible*, n. iv. 86, seq.

⁴ *Pref. in Lib. Josue.*

⁵ In a short Hebrew recension of the story of Judith quite recently brought to light by Dr. Gaster (*Proc. Soc. Biblical Archaeology*, xvi. 156, seq. March, 1894) the invader is called Seleucus, and "Bethulia" becomes Jerusalem! It is right to add that Gaster believes this to be the original form of the story, an opinion in which we can by no means concur.

that the deuterо-canonical books have been liable in a pre-eminent degree to textual corruption. This is obviously not the place for a discussion of the historical character of the Book of Judith; but as the Reviewer appears to be very imperfectly acquainted with the works of Catholic professors, I would refer him to the works of Delattre, Palmieri, Vigouroux, Cornely, and Brunengo, in which the grounds for the identification of the Nabuchodonosor of Judith with Assurbanipal are set forth at considerable length.¹ When these writers have been refuted it will be time to consider whether some other hypothesis can claim a hearing. In the meanwhile, to say that the Book of Judith "conflicts with the established facts of history," and to say this on the grounds alleged by the Reviewer, is to show an almost childish simplicity.

13. I must not pass over altogether in silence, though our space will not allow me fully to discuss, the difficulties proposed by the Reviewer concerning the Books of Daniel and of Baruch. The Reviewer is quite confident that Belshazzar, who was certainly the son of Nabunaid, could not rightly be called the son of Nabuchodonosor. But how if he was his grandson, his mother being a daughter of that monarch? The Reviewer will no doubt laugh the suggestion to scorn. And yet the speech of the Queen mother in Daniel v. is just such as would be natural in the mouth of a daughter of the great King, with the circumstances of whose life she obviously had—as her words show—some special acquaintance. A further confirmation of the hypothesis that Belshazzar was the grandson of Nabuchodonosor is found in the circumstance that Nabunaid had a son named Nabuchodonosor, as we learn from the Behistun inscription of Darius.² Of course I do not expect to convince the

¹ Delattre, *Le Peuple et l'Empire des Mèdes*, pp. 148, seq.; *Id. Le Livre de Judith*; Palmieri, *De Veritate historica Libri Judith*; Vigouroux, *La Bible*, &c., iv. 275—305; Brunengo, *Babilonia e Nineve*, i. 569, seq. and articles in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1886—7; Cornely, *Introd.* II. i. 402, seq. Every student of Assyrian history is aware that Assurbanipal used a second name, *Sin-inaddina-habal*, which he seems to have used at Babylon (Ménant, *Annales des Rois d'Assyrie*, p. 251) and which probably answers to his Greek appellation *κυνηδάδανος*. It would perhaps be too much to hope for the discovery of an inscription designating him Nabuchodonosor (!) but at any rate there is no lack of names compounded with *Nabu* in the Assyrian inscriptions of the seventh century B.C. as any one may see in Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*.

² "And a certain man, a Babylonian, named Naditaturus, the son of Aena, . . . he arose. The State of Babylonia he thus falsely addressed [*der lehnte sich in Babylon auf*, also, *belog er die Leute*] (*Spiegel*) (saying), I am Nabuchodonosor, the son of Nabonidus. . . . Then I proceeded to Babylon against that Naditaturus who

Reviewer of this. It is his fancy to stigmatize as "irreverent"¹ the joy with which discoveries throwing light on the Biblical records are hailed by those who still hold in honour the Written Word. But to others than the Reviewer we would put the matter thus. If in the works of two profane historians we were to read (1) that Belshazzar was son of Nabunaid, and (2) that he was son of Nabuchodonosor; and if we had excellent reasons for believing both writers to be well-informed and their statements trustworthy, should we not conclude that some such explanation as the one offered above was probably the true one? And if we came upon two incidental indications (like the scene with the Queen mother and the names in the Behistun inscription) which accorded peculiarly well with the hypothesis proposed, should we not regard the probability of that hypothesis as considerably strengthened? Now the only difference between the instance which we have imagined and that of the apparently conflicting testimony of Daniel and of the monuments, lies in the circumstance that here we have far higher grounds than in the case of any merely human historian for accepting the narrative as true.

It is no matter for surprise that the Reviewer should find a difficulty in Baruch i. 11, where the Jews in Jerusalem are asked to pray for Nabuchodonosor *and for his son Belshazzar*; for in this case it is obvious that the hypothesis above proposed offers no explanation of the explicit language used. In this case it cannot be questioned that the persons mentioned are truly father and son. But who has told the Reviewer that Nabuchodonosor had not a son named Belshazzar, or that the Belshazzar of Baruch is identical with the Belshazzar of Daniel? Indeed, if the date in Baruch i. 2 has been correctly preserved, they cannot have been identical. How many English kings have had sons named Henry, Edward, George? However, I believe the more probable solution of the difficulty (which is a very real one) to be that which has been proposed quite recently by the Abbé de Moor, in an article which I would commend to the attention of all serious students.² He supposes

was called [*'der sich nannte'*] Nabuchodonosor." (Rawlinson, *Behistun Inscr.* pp. 209, 211; Spiegel, *Altper. K Schr.* p. 11.) The discovery of this double-named Naditaturus-Nabuchodonosor should teach a fresh lesson of caution concerning the Nabuchodonosor of Judith.

¹ P. 588.

² "La Fin du nouvel Empire Chaldéen," in the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, (April, 1894) pp. 337, seq.

that in Baruch i. 2 we ought to read, not "the *fifth* year," but "the *forty-fifth* year" (of the reign of Manasseh), and that for Nabuchodonosor, we should read Nabonidus.¹ The substitution of the better known for the less known name need excite no surprise; and the substitution would be all the more easily accounted for if we suppose the date to have been first changed. Or again, the change of the name might lead to the alteration of the date.² It is easy to say that such hypotheses are arbitrary; and so they would be if we had not independent grounds for believing the truth of the inspired narrative in the uncorrupted form of its text.

But to return to the Book of Daniel. We there learn that Nabuchodonosor named him (another case of multiple names) "Belteshazzar, after the name of his god." We are, however, gravely assured by the Reviewer³ that the name Belteshazzar "has no more to do with Bel, than pine-apples have to do with pines; it signifies 'protect his life.'" ⁴ Now it is no disparagement to the scholarship of the Reviewer to suggest that he may probably be a less eminent Assyriologist than Father J. N. Strassmaier, who has, we believe, deciphered as large a number of the cuneiform inscriptions as any man living. The Reviewer assumes that the name Belteshazzar ought to have something to do with Bel, though the actual text of Daniel only informs us that Nabuchodonosor called him Belteshazzar "after the name of his god." How then if "the name of his god," or goddess rather, was *Belit*, the female counterpart of Bel. This is Father Strassmaier's suggestion, who gives as a probable etymology, supported by the analogy of numerous instances occurring in the inscriptions of Nabunaid, *Belit-sar-usur*—"Belit protect the prince."⁵ On the other hand, Delitzsch (quoted by Knabebauer, *ad loc.*) suggests, *Bel-balatsu-usur*—"Bel protect his life," which would be in complete analogy with

¹ Pp. 371, 372. If it be true that Nabunaid was also called (in Greek) Nabonodochus (Maspero, *Hist. de l'Orient*, p. 559), the confusion of the name with that of Nabuchodonosor is the more easily explained. A mere metathesis of the Hebrew letters *kaph* and *nun* would go far to account for the textual mistake. Or again, the equivalence of meaning of the closing syllables of both names (*usur*, *nahid*="protect") may possibly have had something to do with the confusion. (Cf. Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, iii. 82.)

² The latter hypothesis is favoured by M. de Moor.

³ P. 588.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ This etymology had long since been proposed by Rawlinson (*loc. cit.*), who, however, rejects it on what appears to us to be the insufficient reason that "his god" implies a masculine form. (Cf. Knabebauer, *Daniel*, *ad loc.*)

the name of Nabunaid's own father, *Nabu-balatsu-ikbi*.¹ The easy confidence with which the Reviewer undertakes to settle off-hand a problem on which scholars like Rawlinson, Delitzsch, and Strassmaier, are content to offer modest conjectures, would be amusing if the subject in hand were less serious.

In conclusion, I would suggest that whereas a knowledge of Hebrew and a spirit of reverence are both necessary for the deeper study of the Bible, of the two, reverence is more indispensable than Hebrew.

HERBERT LUCAS, S.J.

¹ "Almost every Babylonian name, the etymology of which is known to us, has a religious character. Among the elements is almost universally to be recognized the name of a god," or, we would add, of a goddess. (Rawlinson, *Ibid.*) A name which should signify "protect his life," without mention of the god whose protection was invoked, would be an anomaly; and it is recognized that a form like *Sarasar* (*Sar-usur* = "protect the prince," *Isaias* xxxvii. 38) is an abridged form of *Nergal-sar-usur*, or *Bil-sar-usur*, or the like. (Cheyne, *Isaiah*, i. 225.)

The Extinct Crater of the Bay of Naples.

THE whole circular Bay of Naples was in the first stages of the earth's formation an enormous crater. Since that time this great crater has become filled with the sea, and has left only its high edges visible in a circle round it from Capo Miseno, Monte di Procida, Lago Averno, the Solfatara, Astroni, Posilipo, Naples, Vesuvius, the long peninsula of Sorrento, to the island of Capri, from which there is a space where the sides have given way, round to Ischia and its extinct volcano of Monte Epomeo, from which the line continues over a channel of the sea to the islands of Vivara and Procida, and so back to the mainland. Several of these have at one time or another become craters in their turn; one still is active—Vesuvius: the other emits steam and sulphurous vapours in small quantities—the Solfatara. It is of the rough edges of this great first-world crater that we intend to give a brief account, and we will begin at Capo Miseno, which is the most westerly point of the mainland forming the Bay of Naples. From here the view is one of the widest and most complicated that can be obtained; we seem to stand in the midst of lakes, islands, bays, seas, hills, promontories, and narrow straits. The colouring here, as everywhere in the gulf, is striking; the atmosphere of Naples seems to cling to sky and sea; all seems bathed in azure and sunshine; the land is brightly distinct even when a gentle haze softens the distant horizon; a few clouds coming over the sky will shed a deepened purple on the hillside or make streaks of indigo on the varied blue and green tints of the summer sea. Indistinct memories of the lives of ancient Emperors and their favourites seem to rise out of the sunny shores. Far away in hazy warmth lies Capri, famed for the pleasures of Augustus and the profligacies of Tiberius. Ischia and Procida are close to us. Virgil, who spent so much of his time near here composing some of his most beautiful poetry, mentions this almost isolated hill in the following lines commemorative of the trumpeter Misenus.

At pius Æneas ingenti mole sepulcrum
Imponit, suaque arma viro remumque tubamque
Monte sub aereo qui nunc Misenus ab illo
Dicitur æternumque tenet per sæcula nomen.¹

But it is not to think of Romans or their atrocities, of the aged Agrippina murdered by Nero, or of the terrible, suffocating death of Tiberius, deserted yet murdered in his villa of Lucullus near here, or to recall the originals of those whose statues we have seen in the museums of Italy, that we have come to this spot. The Cæsars' navies have occupied the Mare Morto and Porto di Miseno below us, both of which in the earlier stages of the world's history were adjacent craters. It is to various strange circular hills and lakes that we wish to draw attention. Two hills come first, the Monte di Procida and the Monte di Salvaticchi. Beyond there is an extinct crater, the Lago di Fusaro, which down till 1838 produced strong mephitic exhalations, and we believe still produces malaria. It is here that at the present moment oyster-beds are carefully cultivated. Far beyond it, on the other side of the hill and acropolis of Cumæ, there is the Lago di Licola and malarious marshes lying low and close to the sea. These two lakes, and consequently the marshes connected with them, now drain into the sea by a couple of openings in each, which enable the water to flow, but they still exhale malaria. The very ground round Cumæ looks malarious, a wild damp barrenness strikes the eye everywhere, even amidst the vineyards. The air is oppressive. There we notice a dark tunnel, fern-hung at the opening, with a decaying gateway for entrance, beneath the modern carriage-way, along which we have come; this is the subterranean road, over half a mile in length, rough, and dangerous with pitfalls, so they say, which leads to the Lake Avernus, and there come back to our minds with vague significance the words of Virgil:

Talibus ex adyto dictis Cumæa Sibylla
Horrendas canit ambages, antroque remugit
Obscuris vera involvens.

It is necessary to go on foot towards the sea-coast and the acropolis rock, a sandstone formation, riddled with passages and dark, unhealthy, secret, subterranean steps, some of which we once explored with torches. The levels are planted with vineyards, the earth is full of fragments of old Greek and Roman pottery and marble; the few inhabitants, who dwell in damp

¹ *Æneid*, vi. 232.

houses not fit for swine, are born and bred with malaria written on their faces, thin, yellow, shaking, dejected, and with all the worst symptoms, with scarcely any food to eat and no means of bettering their condition; it is principally on the vineyards that they rely, and the few scattered houses in the low-lying portions are generally occupied merely by a few labourers or poor tenants: the whole district, where once lay Cumæ, on a dull, damp day is the most depressing that could possibly be chosen to wander in. We took a lad to guide us to the acropolis from one of these houses, where we had sought wine and bread, which however when we saw we did not attempt to taste, saying instead that we might perhaps return that way; the wine-glass was stained with the thick dregs of black wine, and the hunch of stale loaf came off a shelf above a sort of couch formed of barrels and boards that acted as a bed, while some cows apparently made their stables in the same damp foundations of the rotting house. We left some money: what more could we do! and we followed our guide, who marched on ahead of us with his gun slung over his back ready to shoot any small bird to add to the meagre family supper. When we reached the acropolis he pointed out to us several old tombs that had lately been dug up. In them still were bones; and mechanically Faust's words arose, "Why do you grin at me, oh hollow skull?" as we picked up a human skull that might have been 2,500 years old or even 3,000. Holding it in our hands, we gazed at its empty sockets and ghastly white-toothed jaws, and then turning away and leaving it to the guide, we could not resist calling to mind, standing as we were over an open grave in that wild strange spot, on the citadel of Western Greek civilization, the words of poor Hamlet, "That skull had a tongue in it, and could sing once; how the knave jowls it to the ground, as if it were Cain's jaw-bone that did the first murder! This might have been the pate of a politician, which this ass now o'er-reaches; one that would circumvent God, might it not?" From one of these graves the children about there had picked up some coins, marked with the bull of Poseidon, which they willingly sold to us. What a wonderful god Poseidon seems to have been! Temples, great, stern, and beautiful, have been erected to him in many places along the coasts of the Mediterranean. And now the sea sighs on against the rocks without his control; and no more, except perhaps in some rapt moment which all have experienced on the fascinat-

ing shores of the Bay of Naples or amidst the islands of Greece, can the white surf be mistaken for his foaming beard sweeping towards the rocky shore. In these countries, imbued as they are with the classic past, we miss the old gods and goddesses that once gave life to every creation of nature. Well may the ancients have believed these Phlegrean plains, stretching to the west of Naples, to have contained the entrance to the infernal regions.

The view from the summit of a vineyard on the hill above the temple of Diana at Baja, is superb, yet not so complicated as from the Capo Miseno, but more open and stretching away in most exquisite curves: to right, the Miseno promontory, with its Castle of Baja and scattered houses, the Miseno rock, the smaller islands, and Ischia beyond; to left, Pozzuoli, Naples, and Mount Vesuvius and the promontory of Sorrento. On a fine day nothing can be more beautiful or more strikingly attractive. Not far from this Turner painted the Bay of Baja, with "Apollo and the Sibyl" as his subject. The Castle of Baja is to the right, and on the opposite side of the bay, to the left, is seen the distant Pozzuoli. On a stone painted in this exquisite picture, it will be remembered, there are the words of Horace, "*Liquidæ placuere Baiæ.*" And we naturally call to mind, "*Nullus in orbe sinus Baiis præluet amoenis,*" which, by the way, a new hotel has appropriated to itself and placed in large golden letters stretching along the whole extent of its outer walls!

*Quid referam Baias, prætextaque littora
Velis et quæ de calido sulfuro fumat aquam?*

Wherever we are, lines come to our minds and bear us on from one subject to another. A little beyond Baja there are what are called the Stufe di Nerone, the ancient Thermæ Neronianæ. The entrance is through rooms cut in the tufa rock, and at the furthest bend of a long, low, dark, semicircular passage are the springs of boiling water, boiling from some source of not very distant volcanic agency. The passage is unpleasantly hot and full of steam, but on stooping near the ground it is possible to crawl in cool air some way into its narrow windings. We believe these rooms are even still used by peasant invalids as a cure. The great proof here to the native mind of the fact that the water is boiling, seems to be to boil an egg in the spring. The egg is first shown cold and uncooked, and then put in a bucket; then two little boys, one carrying a torch, run

round with it to the springs and return by the other passage in three minutes. The egg is boiled, and the little fellows are seen to be perspiring profusely from the great heat and steam to which they have been exposed. Further on is the Lago di Averno, where another of Turner's fascinating pictures was painted, "*Æneas with the Sibyl*." Virgil places this as the spot where the Sibyl conducted *Æneas* to the infernal regions in order to speak with the old Anchises;¹ and certainly it is the crater of an extinct volcano, though now filled with water. It is a large pond, or lake, beautiful in spring: and in autumn, sometimes sombre, dark, and terrible; sometimes bright and shining—but ever solitary. The neighbouring woods, ravines, and caves were the abode of the dismal, sunless Cimmerii mentioned by Homer. Like so many of the surrounding lakes, it also at one time gave out poisonous exhalations, so much so that, before the Emperor Augustus made it into a harbour in conjunction with the Lucrine Lake, it was said that no bird could fly over it without perishing. It is a most melancholy spot; the smooth, dark surface of the large round pool filling the ancient crater, whose edges covered with low chestnut-trees overshadow it, breeds in one an unaccountable feeling that death is hovering somewhere about in its precincts. The brown water laps the muddy bank in a sullen way, as if conscious of its baneful power. Bright cyclamens show their heads amidst the light undergrowth on the banks, whose chief shade besides bare-looking willow stems is that of the dark-leaved chestnut-tree. A deathly silence oppresses one. On the further side of the lake are the picturesque ruins of old baths, which are better known however as the Temple of Apollo. They are half hidden amongst the trees, and are built to the very edge of the dark, stagnant waters. The lake is supposed to be 138 feet deep, or according to another authority 210 feet. Its circumference is nearly two miles. Separated from it by a low hill of tufa formation, riddled with passages and galleries, as indeed seems to be this whole district of mysteries, is the Lacus Lucrinus. Amongst these passages is the Sibyl's Grotto, containing the so-called bed of the Styx. There are rooms and passages here said to be unexplored, though we have our doubts as to whether they are not used for smuggling, and therefore never shown to the curious traveller. The guide points out the rooms named after Nero and the Sibyl, and the place, like a huge oven, where

¹ *Æneid*, vi. 237.

he again gravely informs his audience that the dog Cerberus used to lie and guard the entrance to the regions of Pluto. It is useless to protest against these lectures, since the tourist finds himself carried on the guide's back through the pools of water that fill the floors of the rooms and deposited on a ledge of rock, where *nolens volens* he has to listen to this harangue of nonsense. There is a great staircase going up from these rooms to levels above, but blocked at the upper end by lava or volcanic ash, which is supposed to have come from the eruption of the Monte Nuova in 1538, which destroyed many of these passages and greatly altered the surrounding country. Of two other dark passages within this cave, the so-called bed of the Styx is the only one up which we could force the guide to take us, and that was black with the soot from the torches and full of *scoria*, which appeared to block it up further on than we could advance, owing to the diminishing height of the passage. All these, as well as the rooms, it must be remembered, are in pitch darkness. Having to be carried through knee-deep pools of water, by the light of a torch, we were completely at the mercy of our bearer, and at one spot he has always refused to move further, although only four feet covers the distance to the dark passage at which we have wished to arrive. He excuses himself each time by declaring that the ground is too muddy to support him, and that the passage is blocked up. Since our last visit we are more fully persuaded than ever that that passage holds some illicit secret. It is possible that some thousands of years ago there were natural passages here, volcanic rents in the rock; since when a race of men, supposed half supernatural—the Cimmerii—probably took possession of these then desolate spots, possibly before the Greek settlement of Cumæ, and living beneath the shade of forests, in the vales and amidst the lakes, and in many caverns, enlarged the latter and made galleries and rooms.

Near the Lacus Avernus and the Lacus Lucrinus is the Monte Nuovo, an extinct volcano, which rose suddenly on the 27th September, 1538; the sea in the Gulf of Baja retreating forty feet, and leaving the bay dry. It is 456 feet high; its form is that of an obtuse cone, in the centre of which is a deep crater, now quite extinct, and enclosing masses of pumice-stone, trachyte, and tufa. This is one of the most interesting of the volcanic remains round the bay.

All volcanic soil is famous for its grapes, and not far from

here we are reminded of this by seeing the Monte Falerno, famous for its Falernian wine; it is better known as the Monte Gauro or Barbaro; probably with the Monte della Corvara it also forms the crater of an extinct volcano. Vineyards as elsewhere are to be seen in every direction as we leave the Lucrine Lake and drive along towards Pozzuoli, the Puteoli where St. Paul landed, famous for Caligula's Bridge, a temple or market-place, and ruins of an amphitheatre, where St. Januarius was thrown to wild beasts and with his companions was miraculously saved. As we recall "*Bajarum medium intervallum Puteolanes ad moles ponte conjunxit*,"¹ we cannot help thinking:

What now remains of all the mighty bridge
Which made the Lucrine lake an inner pool,
Caligula but massy fragments left
As monuments of doubt and ruined hopes,
Yet gleaming in the morning's ray, that tell
How Baiae's shore was loved in times gone by.

Inland from Pozzuoli and somewhat in the direction of Naples there lies the Solfatara, a large, circular, barren, white waste, the crater of a half extinct volcano, formed by a level of sulphuretted potter's clay enclosed by low hills of pumice-stone and covered here and there with bushes of arbutus and other shrubs, and having near the centre an oval flat expanse of treacherous-looking white mud. It possesses on two sides grottoes entering into the subterranean depths, from one of which, named the *bocca grande*, issue steam and sulphureous vapours of great heat in constant and regular blasts, bursting upon the spectator who unwarily places himself too close to the opening during the intervals. The dusty white powdery earth spreads everywhere else, and in every direction the ground sounds hollow. A sulphurous smell greets us as we pass along these powdery paths that have been trodden in various directions. The Solfatara is private property, and ten sous is the entrance money charged at a small restaurant near the approach from the road outside. Moreover, on nearing the further side of the waste, a tramp or guide rushes forward and picking up a great stone throws it with violence to the ground in order that we may hear the hollow sound; talking frantically the while and evidently expecting money, he proceeds to explain other wonders and consequently to disturb the impressions that

¹ Suetonius.

the observer is endeavouring to gather from the strange surroundings; but he is an unnecessary individual, and as we always set our face against his whole genus we ignored him on our first visit to the place five years ago; annoyed at this slight on our part, we remember that he did his best to wave his hands in front of our eyes while we were attempting to look into the strange hole, above mentioned, from which continually poured out the volcanic steam augmented at short intervals by increased volumes borne out by the force of a strong scorching wind that rose with a hissing sound from the far depths of the curving interior. We had again to object to this officious beggar, since he rendered it impossible to make observations, though he said that he merely flourished his hands to show how hot the steam was; to which we replied in Neapolitan that we wouldn't give him a single soldo; we had apparently become more angry than he could, so he subsided; this is Neapolitan logic and custom. The entrance to this hole which is in the side of the hill is built up artificially, and this fabricated entrance seems to go in for some five or six feet before the passage curves out of sight; so that possibly this hole at one time gave out less steam and was probably then as now used as a species of sulphurous vapour bath: there was a patient, even while we were there, sitting outside the house that has been built close to it; it is supposed to be good for consumption. The height of the hole near the entrance is five feet by about four in width. The stones all round this mouth are coated orange and yellow from the deposits in the gases blown up by the powerful stream of hot steam. The soil ten feet round is hot, too hot to allow of the hand being kept on it for more than an instant, and in places is caked hard with minute crystals covering small fragments, while in other spots the ground is friable and soft. Not far from this, the *bocca grande*, is another spot that they call the *bocca piccola*, but from it no steam was coming when we were last there, though the whole ground between the two, that is on the east side, is covered with sulphurous earth. In many spots the ground is very hot; and yellow crystallizations can be crumbled off the sulphurous surface. Hard minute dark-coloured crystals of copper or iron pyrites exuding as it were from lumps of yellow mineral attract the attention; bits of the hard caked surface, burning to the touch, are orange, almost red in colour, or even green, according to the amount of iron or copper that

is present in them. The darker orange is always on the hottest portion and is always the hardest to break off, as on the crater of Mount Vesuvius and other volcanoes, and is apparently also the most full of acid; a piece of paper or the lining of a pocket can easily be burnt through by the acidity from the mineral specimens collected here and in many other parts of the Phlegræan plains.

Not far from the *bocca piccola*, near the end of this swampy-looking plain, part of which is covered by a poor undergrowth of bushes and grass, and part of which looks almost liquid like a white quicksand with a thin crust ready to sink into the unknown depths below, there is a carefully closed structure built over a deep well, that descends perpendicularly through the surface, and from which hot water can be obtained by letting down a bucket; the opening is, however, safely covered by a grating. Here we feel that we are walking over the very shell of this infernal region, a few yards distant only from the earth's inner heat. Strabo refers to the Solfatara as the Forum Vulcani, so that it must have been in a more or less quiescent state for more than two thousand years; though an eruption of lava from it is recorded as taking place in 1198. It is undoubtedly connected with the neighbouring craters of this volcanic district, such as the Monte Nuovo; the ancients supposed it to be connected with Monte Epomeo in Ischia, the peasants, however, now say it is connected with Vesuvius; both are probably correct, since the whole land is volcanic and it is only the connecting link between the two. The eastern wall of the Solfatara is formed by the Monti Leucogei from whence flow several small streams, containing alum, the Fontes Leucogaei of the ancients,¹ towards the Lago d'Agnano.

This deep valley, an extinct crater, is about two and a quarter miles in circumference, and till 1870, when it was drained, was a lake; low trees now cover its broad basin except near the centre, where it is still swampy. We hear that there is a tunnel from here to Bagnoli, which still carries out the water, and that at the exit the temperature of the stream is 140° Fahrenheit. On the southern edge are the Stufe di San Germano, rooms half in the soft ground and half artificially built up and roofed over, in which the hot sulphureous vapours rising out of the ground have long been collected for such invalids as like to use them. None were however there while we examined the spot,

¹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxi. 2.

and we doubt whether it is at present ever used for its original purpose. It seems to serve now as a source of revenue to another old beggar who lives close by ; indeed all these volcanic spots have been appropriated by extortionate vagabonds. The walls in these half underground rooms are all formed of a soft white substance, easily scraped off in coarse powder, that is very acid, as we afterwards discovered when after a visit to the place, some that we took away in our pockets burnt through both the paper in which we had wrapped it and the lining of our clothes. The rooms are of varying degrees of heat, one indeed is as hot as any forcing-house for exotic plants ; indeed on the last occasion, for it seems to vary in different years, we found it stiflingly hot ; several of the rooms have ventilators on the roof to moderate this warmth. The outer rooms are less warm, their walls are not so encrustated with the white acid powder ; the floor, however, is everywhere mere earth of a fine powdery consistency, but rather damp in places. Holes have been dug into the bank against which the rooms have been built and into which by excavation they have been extended ; from these the vapours come out more steadily, encrusting the sides with thick, almost feathery, deposits, and being so hot as to render it impossible to hold the hand for one instant within. A locked door which was opened for us, leads from one of these rooms down a dark passage, the end of which we could not see, but such intense moist warmth came from its hot interior that we ordered it to be immediately shut. In one of the rooms adjacent, reached by another entrance outside, the keeper of the place told us to lower our heads to about three feet from the ground, while with his hand he, as it were, splashed the lower surface of air into our faces ; we found it to be full of ammonia, which half blinded and choked us ; though the last time we were there a few months ago, it was less strong and smelt very like effervescence from soda-water. After these experiments we went a hundred yards further, and within another enclosure came to what is called the Grotta del Cane. The object from which it takes its name, we mean the dog, was standing outside in a stolid piteous sort of way with an absurd expression of indifference about it that seemed to say, " Put me in, let me be drowned if you like, or else say at once that I may go away and have a quiet nap." The poor brute had scarcely any hair on it, a result evidently produced by frequent immersions in the carbonic acid gas that flows from the cave

so satirically named after it. This last time we were there, another dog, of the same species, had taken its place, a younger animal, with a good coat, but with a deformed-looking chest development.

There is something very strange about this cave, which is a tunnel about six feet high descending through a bank into the ground. Within, steps descend from near its mouth, of the same width as the cave itself, about three feet, and gradually disappear down the passage that bends out of sight; as they descend they become more rough, perhaps having been eaten away by an acid, but what seems so strange is that in the cave's present condition no one could have made those lower steps, for even if a man were to stand upright on them his head would be below the level of the gas and he would inevitably be suffocated. The level of the carbonic acid gas marks itself by a yellowish white band six inches in width eaten into the rock, and stretching horizontally from near the door to where it meets the descending roof of the cave. We allowed the dog its liberty, but tried the usual experiments with torches dipped in the gas, which instantly extinguished them. We also showed the old custodian how to take up the gas in a pail and pour it, as if water, from a height of three or four feet over the lighted torch, when the latter was again at once extinguished. This grotto is supposed to be mentioned by Pliny as the "breathing-place of Pluto." The last time we were there we noticed that the gas had sunk in level¹; a woman who admitted us to see it descended several steps further than had the old man in previous years; and the narrow, white band marking the usual level of the gas had sunk, and therefore become widened downwards to a foot and a half, extending much further back along the sloping roof of the cave; moreover, the quality of the gas seemed also changed, for it was not sufficiently strong or pure to extinguish the torch when poured from a height on to the flame, as we had done some years before; and even to fill the small jar that the woman kept for the experiments, the gas, such as it was, had to be taken from the innermost portion of the cave that she could reach. Still, when a bunch of the torches was lit and plunged into the lowest attainable recesses, it went out at once, filling the whole grotto with unpleasant smoke that effectually stopped any further investigation of the interior. Possibly these various

¹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 93.

alterations have something to do with the renewed activity of Vesuvius, which has been throwing up clouds of smoke, and for some weeks within the last few months produced a fresh flow of lava into the Atrio del Cavallo, the glow from which on the night it burst out was seen from Sorrento as if a huge bonfire had been lit on the other side of the mountain, while the lava itself was visible from Naples. In this volcanic district subterranean variations of heat and of internal formation naturally cause changes in the earth's surface; the wonder is that they do not occur more often. Speculation as to what this grotto originally was is useless, a descent into it is impossible, and it only serves to show, with many neighbouring spots, how a volcanic district is a natural laboratory on a large scale, producing here carbonic acid gas, there ammonia, in another place sulphureous vapours, and endless compounds and mineral waters.

We must not omit to mention the royal deer park of Astroni, about a mile away. This is an extinct crater whose circumference is three miles. It is now a circular valley, densely overgrown with poplars, holm-oaks, and other small trees; there is a small lake in it of which we do not know the depth. The island of Nisida, at the end of the Posilipo range, is also an extinct crater of the great Gulf of Naples. Lucan, in *Pharsalia*, vi. 89, says of it:

Traxit iners cœlum fluidæ contagia pestis
Obscuram in nubem. Tali spiramine Nesis
Emittit Stygium nebulosis aera saxis,
Antraque letiferi rabiem Typhonis anhelant.

And now, omitting mention of many of the smaller sulphurous hot springs, such as those at Bagnoli, some of which contain carbonic acid gas, we pass along the heights of Posilipo, the Vomero, St. Elmo, Capodimonte, to the great active volcano Vesuvius. This mountain of ash and lava, as can easily be seen, is only one side of a far greater but broken down and extinct volcano defined on its other side by the curving heights of Monte Somma. The great space in between these two is now called the Atrio del Cavallo, and is itself most interesting, having formed the enormous crater that was once active before the memory of men, and which burst out for the first time on record in A.D. 79.

Vesuvius, of course, is a long subject in itself which we cannot possibly discuss thoroughly in this short space. Its

solid floods of ancient lava, the lava-beds covering the land for miles round, the ash slopes on its sides, and the volumes of smoke for ever pouring out of it will always attract the eye of man. Those great contorted masses of lava have ever seemed to us like the distorted limbs and bodies of mangled giant devils cast out of Heaven on to the flaming earth and horribly upcast again, burnt and intertwined in hideous heaps; perhaps it is one of Rubens' pictures that has put this idea in our mind, or the powerful description with which Milton in the opening of his *Paradise Lost* describes the mighty angels fallen from Heaven and "rolling in the fiery gulf." The strange sound of the steam and smoke as it ascends out of the deep crater is most terrible, and when we consider that this is the chief safety-valve, as it were, of the whole bay and district which we are describing, we cannot help watching the mountain night and day with a species of awe. Sometimes to one placed on the crater's edge the roar of the steam is like distant thunder or artillery, at other times the molten lava down below is heard lashing like boiling water on the hidden rocks beneath the feet; while the great column of smoke, *La Buffera infernal che mai non resta*, is carried this way or that as the wind blows, often lying in a straight line like a long cloud stretched out for twenty miles, and sometimes going directly, as if by attraction, to the summit of Monte Epomeo in Ischia, drawing a line in the sky above the ancient connection which once joined the two volcanoes beneath the bay. But we have written of Vesuvius elsewhere, and we must not fill up more pages with another description. Its height at present is about 4,200 feet. The Monte Somma is 3,642 feet. As we look over the plain around Vesuvius and its fertile southern slopes, we recall the buried Herculaneum, Pompei, and Stabia, and many ancient Roman towns which warred against each other as the greater cities of Italy did later on in mediæval times. We see the land rich with vines that twine up the elms or are planted in long lines along the walled-in fields, or climb up the sides of houses and over white *pergole* and shady tresselled terraces in front of picturesque farm-houses and country inns, where they mingle with the great yellow and green gourds; while fig-trees with heavy, green branches and ruddy prickly-pears sprouting from broad, thorny leaves, and many other southern fruits add their fantastic forms and colouring to the bright scene. Yonder we see the great horned oxen slowly drawing the plough, just

such a one as Virgil describes, wooden and clumsy ; there lie crops, there ploughed fields, there fruit and plenty.

Quid faciat lætas segetes, quo sidere terram
Vetere, Mæcenæ, ulmisque adjungere vites
Conveniat : quæ cura boum, qui cultus habendo
Sit pecori ; apibus quanta experientia parcis ;
Hinc canere incipiam.

The eastern side of the great crater of the Gulf of Naples is formed by the Monte Sant Angelo, a spur of the Apennines 5,000 feet in height, running out to the Punta di Campanella, at the end of the Sorrento promontory. At the commencement of this, not ten miles from the crater of Vesuvius, lies Castellamare di Stabia, where there are several sulphur springs, and where the elder Pliny lost his life in A.D. 79, on the occasion of the terrible earthquake and the first recorded eruption of Vesuvius. Not far from here, on the road to Sorrento, there are some which flow into the sea and make the air smell most foul in hot weather, when the sun's heat causes the vapours to rise to the level of the carriage road. This beautiful promontory is formed of limestone rock, which is covered from near Castellamare to the other side of Sorrento by tufa rock, as can be seen by looking at the cliffs from the sea, where there is only solid tufa to be observed. From Sorrento to the Punta Campanella the plain limestone formation comes into view ; this communicates with the island of Capri, $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles distant, by a submarine reef of rock twenty fathoms below the surface of the sea. The island of Capri is of limestone formation of the tertiary period, with, in places, a small deposit of sandstone. "Generally speaking all over the island, on the top of this is a deposit of volcanic cinders,"¹ sometimes about twenty feet below the surface, "over this is another of pozzuolana,"² a volcanic earth from which an almost indestructible cement is manufactured, and above this a layer of humus varying to about ten feet in depth, so that except where the ground has been specially excavated, the cinders and pozzuolana are not noticeable. In one spot "among the cinders were found the trunk, branches, and roots of bushes, which were carbonized ;"³ now these cinders must have settled on the island exceedingly hot to have reduced these plants to coal to the very root, and may have come from the great crater of the bay itself during one of its last eruptions as its activity receded nearer to the present

¹ *Capri*, by Colonel MacKowen.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

crater of Vesuvius, and before the sea had burst through its walls.

On the south side, close to the Green Grotto, and also in one of the Red Grottos, a few feet off, there is at times a smell as of burnt sulphur to be noticed as if issuing from some source below the water's edge. The fine wine of Capri is well known; its delicate taste, rather than rich quality, is not so much due to the soil being in a volcanic neighbourhood, as to its being well exposed to the sun. The height of Monte Solaro, which, however, is not a crater, is 1,980 feet. Capri, with its wonderful Blue Grotto, its stately women, and its cave of the temple of Mithras, god of the sun, is more intimately associated with the quaint villas of Augustus¹ and the twelve palaces and mad extravagancies of the famous yet pitiable Emperor Tiberius, and its own primitive beauty of fine cliffs and rocks and lovely vineyards, than with volcanic formations. Yet it forms a distinct link in the chain of rocks running round the great crater-bay. From Capri the sea deepens in the direction of Posilipo from 74 fathoms to 112 fathoms, while in the direction of Ischia it is, in one spot a little seaward, 257 fathoms, though we believe that even between Capri and Ischia a slight ridge might be traced, on either side of which the sea bottom would decline. However that may be, near the latter island it rises again to 16 fathoms. The centre of the circular bay is about 100 fathoms deep, but descends to 112 fathoms in the direction of Capri, and the side towards the open sea between Capri and Ischia is 215 fathoms in depth; thus between this depth of 215 fathoms and the depth of 260 outside the circle of the bay, there is very probably, as we have suggested above, a fairly measurable ridge, though apparently destroyed by the forces of the outer sea. The centre of the volcanic disturbance has therefore been either filled up or was not exactly in the centre of the bay. It is even possible that this great crater extended inland to the surrounding mountains of the plain round Vesuvius, and that the latter has become, previous of course to the existence of man, a gigantic cone in the centre, while the land side has been gradually filled up with deposits from the mountains. This would allow of Vesuvius having

¹ "Those of his own, . . . he adorned . . . with things curious either for their antiquity or rarity; such as at Capri, the huge limbs of sea-monsters and wild beasts, which some affect to call the bones of giants; and also the arms of ancient heroes." (Suetonius, *Cæsar Augustus*, lxxii.)

always been the centre of the original disturbance. The ancients gave the name of *Crater* to the *Sinus Cumanus*, or, Bay of Naples,¹ evidently a survival from some old primitive tradition, when the bay may even possibly have been dry, before the sea had entered into it and washed down the soft division that lay seawards. But if man saw this, we do not at the same time mean to infer that he ever saw the great crater in eruption; that was an event which probably took place thousands of years before man was created on the earth.

Continuing round the circle of the bay, at Ischia we again reach undeniable volcanic soil. The harbour at Bagno d'Ischia, beyond the town of Ischia, whose circular shape denotes an old crater, was at one time a lake, but it was connected with the sea between 1853—1856. The ancient name of this island was Pithecusa, and in those days it produced much pottery, a trade that it still carries on. Its wine, too, is very fine and keeps well; we have tasted some that was eight years old, having been bottled in 1883, when the great earthquake took place. More than three or four years is considered a good time for these Neapolitan volcanic wines to keep, as they are not over-prepared and doctored like most of those that are sold by great wine merchants in the larger towns, and in more northern climes. A certain improvidence seems to exist where this abundance of vines holds its sway in southern Italy, and the juices pressed from the grapes of one season are all but consumed by the peasants and southern traveller before the second year is half through. Some of the best quality is, however, always laid by in case the following year's vintage should be damaged.

Within the memory of man, Mount Epomeus was a much more ancient volcano than the present Vesuvius, for in 474 B.C. the inhabitants of the island were driven out by its eruptions. It is 2,625 feet high. Twelve volcanic cones are to be counted on the lower parts of the island according to Lyell. There have been many eruptions of the mountain recorded, but the last took place in 1302; now the mountain is, however, merely an extinct volcano, though at Casamicciola, as all know, are warm alkaline and saline springs, and two feet under the soil at the springs the sand is so hot that the hand cannot be kept there for more than a few moments. The terrible earthquake

¹ Cicero, *Att.* ii. 82.

that took place here in 1883, on July 28, left ruins that are not yet restored, and it is said that even yet bones lie hidden under the thicker *débris*, though for this we cannot vouch. There is a curious incident connected with that earthquake, which I think has not been mentioned before. In one of the hotels that evening music and dancing were going on. During a pause in the amusement, a young man who played with some skill, was asked to perform the Dead March in *Saul*; at first he demurred, but presently sounded the first chords. A friend of his standing near, saying that he disliked its associations, and that to hear it had always seemed to him a presage of misfortune, left the room and walked out into the garden. Almost instantly the house was thrown down and reduced to ruins by the great earthquake that demolished all the hotels and buildings in Casamicciola, while his friend was killed at the piano playing his own Dead March.

The ancient classics relate that the giant Typhœus was transfixed under this mountain by Jupiter, in the same way as Enceladus under Etna. Of Vesuvius there is no such account, showing that its earlier eruptions must have been prehistoric and long before the memory of man; indeed, until the eruption of A.D. 79, sheep grazed as far as the level summit lying between the side now called Vesuvius and the ridge on the north side, since called Monte Somma, the two together at that time formed a great rounded knoll, whose top was sterile with an appearance of ashes and rough rocks,¹ and whose lowest side after the many eruptions has risen to the present mountain cone called Vesuvius, the other side falling in and leaving only its rugged side to mark its former limits.

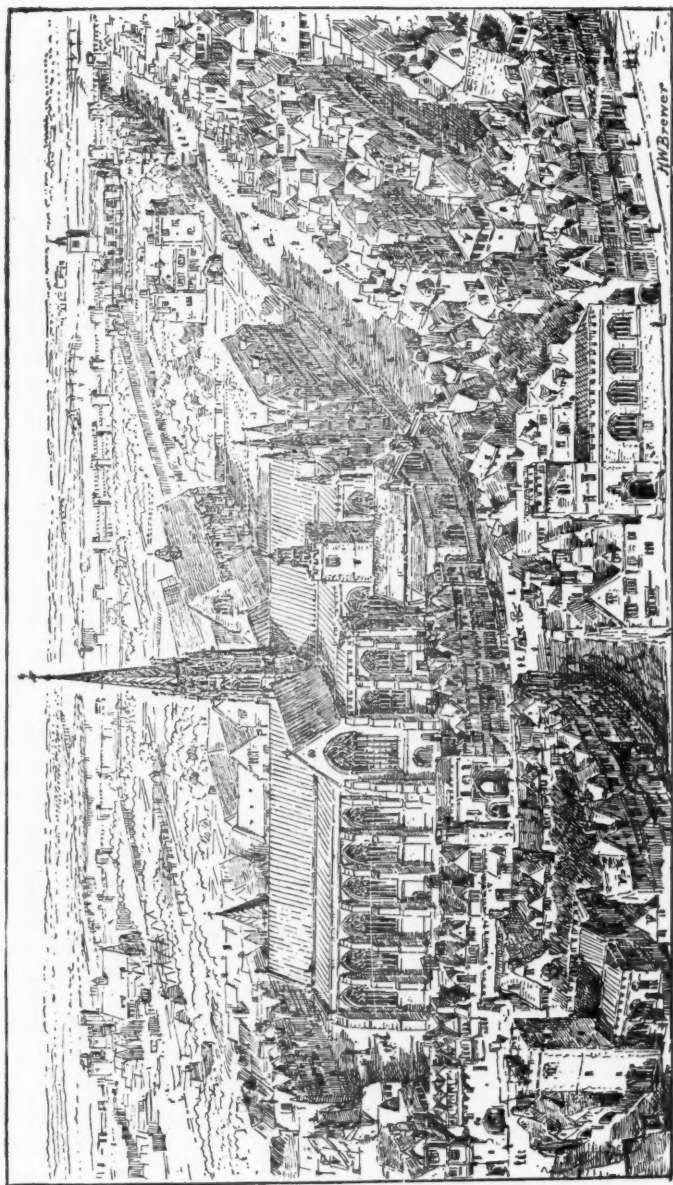
Under the sand in certain spots at Lacco, not far from Casamicciola, there is a permanent heat; while at Forio rise hot mineral springs which are used for vapour baths; besides these, there are other warm mineral springs elsewhere in Ischia. Of all the islands perhaps this is the most charming. We cannot say that we like the view of the bay so much from this point, and the Gulf of Salerno is too indistinct at this distance, but the climate is preferable to that even of Capri. There is more space, more height, more breadth of life, and the people are by nature more single-hearted and perhaps less craftily-intelligent than those of the island of the Emperors. Here the native tarantella is danced to perfection, and at weddings and

¹ Strabo, v. 4.

christenings it may often be seen by those who take pleasure in observing the customs of the peasants in whose country they travel, and in accepting their hospitality as given and taken by the bright inhabitants themselves. The island of Ischia is nineteen miles in circumference and about four times the size of Capri, which it more than rivals, though the latter seems the best known. As in Capri, a great part of the inhabitants are engaged in fishing. Its population is about 20,000, while that of Capri is only 4,000. Straw-plaiting and basket-work also occupy some of the villages, and as usual the soil is wonderfully productive in many kinds of fruit-trees. The next island is that of Vivara, which, with part of Procida, forms a bay that is evidently an extinct crater. Procida, like Ischia and the mainland, is composed of pumice-stone and lava. It consists of two contiguous extinct craters which now form two semi-circular bays, their southern margins having been destroyed by the action of the sea. A third and smaller crater forms the little bay of Chiajolella. The population of this diminutive island is actually 14,000, and its occupations are fishing and the cultivation of the vine.

And here we have come round again to the Capo Miseno, having passed over all the edges of the great crater. We have seen that the western and northern sides are purely volcanic, being formed of tufa, lava, and pumice-stone. The peninsula of Sorrento is formed of a limestone rock, covered for a great part with tufa; indeed, the whole plain of Sorrento from Vico, where at once the high mountain rocks rise inland and the low table-land cliff of tufa drops into the sea, to the other end of the town of Sorrento itself, seems to be composed of nothing but tufa. Capri, the only southern edge still visible, is composed of limestone from the tertiary period, with in places a small deposit of sandstone. Bits of trachyte show on every side, except at Capri. But the waves bear up pieces of pumice-stone, which float like cork on their glistening surface, after having lain hidden for centuries in some submerged side of the great and for ever extinct crater of the Bay of Naples.

H. P. FITZGERALD MARRIOTT.



THE AUGUSTINIAN FRIARS IN THE TIME OF ST. IGNATIUS LOYOLA, WITH BROAD STREET AND ST. ANTHONY'S.
(From Stewart Roe's "St. Ignatius and the Early Jesuits.")

London of Old Catholic Times, and its Ecclesiastical Establishments.¹

LONDON does not at first sight appear to be a favourable field for the study of the past. The place is so altered, so overgrown, and so different in every way from what it was even a century back, that the task of mentally reviving the London of old Catholic times seems well-nigh impossible. Careful study, however, will show that this is not really the case. What still exists, compared with the old views and descriptions preserved in the great libraries of this country, will enable one to realize, often to minute details, the Metropolis of the middle ages.

I will ask you to accompany me in imagination to the neighbourhood of Tower Hill, in the year 1534. Let us suppose ourselves raised some considerable height above the buildings, so that we may look well over the City and obtain a kind of view that could be gained from the top of some lofty tower, and contemplate the scene that would be presented to the eye.

A drawing which I made for the *Builder* newspaper, Jan. 7, 1888, will, I trust, enable me to give you some notion of old London, before intentional rapacity and unavoidable destruction had deprived it of those glories with which the piety of our ancestors had adorned and ennobled it.

The raised platform in the centre of Tower Hill, marks the spot on which was erected the scaffold where the Blessed Thomas More gained his crown of martyrdom; and it must interest us to contemplate the objects upon which his eyes rested for the last time. In the foreground were the soldiers and the crowd, some, no doubt, sympathizing with the noble sufferer, but for the most part weak and wavering, and not understanding the interests at stake.

Upon what other objects did his eyes rest for the last time? If his glance was directed towards the Tower, there was but one object that could have awakened his sympathy—

¹ A Paper read before the Historical Research Society.

that was the little steeple peeping over the battlements of the Chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula, beneath which his own grave was already dug. If his last look was directed northward, it must have fallen upon the handsome Church of the Friars of the Holy Cross, reminding him of the Death of our Blessed Lord, in whose steps he was so soon to follow.¹ At the foot of this church he would have seen a new building scarcely completed—the alms-houses founded by Sir John Milburn in 1521, but not completed until 1535. Although every vestige of the monastery disappeared two centuries back, these pretty little Gothic alms-houses were in existence when I was a boy, and over the doorways was a bas-relief representing the Assumption of our Blessed Lady, placed there by good Sir John Milburn; and a nearly defaced inscription asking the prayers of the faithful for the founder. This interesting little building was pulled down in 1848, and I cannot find out what became of the piece of sculpture. The monastery gave the name "Crutched Friars" to the neighbourhood, the word "crutched" being simply the old English for "crossed," because these friars had a cross upon their cowl.

If the Blessed Thomas directed his last gaze westwards, it would have fallen upon the old Church of All Hallows, Barking, and the adjacent College of Our Lady of Barking, the chapel of which was first erected by Richard Cœur de Lion, who, according to some writers, was himself buried beneath the steps of the high altar. At the time of which we are speaking, however, the College had been rebuilt by Edward IV., and the chapel reconstructed by Richard III. Henry VIII. spared the College and chapel erected by his ancestors, and it was left to the Protector Somerset to add further disgrace to the Tudor Sovereigns by its suppression and destruction.

The chapel stood upon the site of the present Metropolitan railway-station, the excavations for which brought to light some old ruins which no doubt formed part of the College or chapel.² The old parish church of All Hallows, Barking, still exists complete, with the exception of its tower and spire. It is full of old Catholic memorials, and is very rich in brasses. In the

¹ This church was on the site of the "Trinity House," which takes its name from the waterman's "Gild of the Holy Trinity," not from the church which stood here.

² At the present time the foundations of a house are being dug close to the station, and large masses of concrete mixed with broken flint have been brought to the surface. These evidently formed a part of the foundations of some ancient building, probably the College of Our Lady of Barking.

churchyard attached to it, the body of Sir Thomas More's friend and fellow-martyr, Bishop Fisher, was flung into a shallow grave by the soldiers after his execution, naked, without either shroud or coffin, where it lay until removed to the Chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula by the care of Margaret Roper.

If Sir Thomas More looked eastwards, he saw a sight which must have filled his soul with comfort—the beautiful Cistercian Abbey of Our Lady of Graces, generally known as "Eastminster." This interesting edifice was erected by Edward III. in fulfilment of a vow, made during a storm at sea, that if his life were spared he would erect a church and monastery to our Blessed Lady close to the Royal Palace of the Tower. Neither, however, its dedication, the memory of its royal founder, nor its proximity to the Royal Palace, had any weight in preserving it against Tudor rapacity; for within four years of the death of Sir Thomas More it was suppressed, its revenues stolen, its beautiful church and buildings levelled to the ground. It stood upon the site now occupied by the Mint, but there is nothing to tell us what it was like, except the faint indications in an old drawing of London at the Bodleian Library. This drawing is attributed to a certain Vander Wyndergarde, who is said to have come over in the train of Philip II.; but I am convinced, from the evidence of the drawing itself, that it dates from the year 1522.¹

Much as one would wish to linger among the recollections of Tower Hill, we must hurry on to explore other neighbourhoods; and the first building which we shall notice is the Hospital and beautiful Church of St. Catherine, immediately east of the Tower. The Hospital was founded by Matilda, wife of King Stephen, but the beautiful church appears to have been rebuilt by Philippa, wife of Edward III. It had a lofty clerestory and a very noble east window. There were also a magnificently carved set of choir-stalls, with canopies over them; a very fine rood-screen, portions of which are still preserved in the modern Church of St. Catherine, Regent's Park. There was a handsome tower and spire. In addition to the high altar, there were altars dedicated to SS. Fabian, Sebastian, and Barbara, and probably several others. Catherine of Aragon, first wife of Henry VIII., established a Confraternity here, amongst the members of which was Cardinal Wolsey. This institution was spared at the general dissolution of the religious houses; but the reason assigned by

¹ This point is argued at length in an article in the *Builder* of January 7, 1888.

some writers, that it was out of consideration to the wishes of Anne Boleyn, is scarcely credible. The vindictive spite with which Anne treated Catherine of Aragon and everything that could remind the King of her, is too well known to allow us to place any faith in such an assertion, without some very positive proof of its correctness.

The Church of St. Catherine remained almost entire till the year 1829, when it was pulled down to make way for St. Catherine's Docks, the cloisters, chapter-house, embattled gateways, and lofty tower had long ceased to exist. They are, however, shown in ancient views, notably the Bodleian one, which, I think, dates from 1522; Aggas's, which dates from about 1590, and Vischer's, 1616.

We must now retrace our steps, and passing over East Smithfield in front of the gate of the Abbey of Graces, where we should have seen a large Calvary Cross, we enter the wide suburban road called the Minories, and here on our right-hand side we should have found another handsome religious house founded by Richard, King of the Romans, son of Henry III. This was the Abbey of the Poor Clares. It was enclosed within high walls, and possessed a fine cruciform church with a long choir and lofty tower to the north of the nave. As late as the commencement of the present century, the nuns' refectory, a noble apartment lighted by great perpendicular windows, was in existence. The recently closed Church of Holy Trinity in the Minories occupies the site of the nuns' choir.¹ At the end of the Minories, on the site of the present modern Church of St. Botolph, we should have found the ancient parish church of Aldgate, with its lofty embattled tower, almost immediately beneath which was the bridge crossing the City moat, which at this period was deep and full of water. Having passed over the bridge we should have stood in front of the City gate, called "Aldgate." The first thing that would have met our view was a little cell attached to one of the towers which served as the residence of a hermit! A hermit in London does certainly seem strange to our present ideas, but Aldgate was not the only part of the old City which possessed its hermit. Another one lived in a small cell attached to the wall in the neighbourhood of

¹ There was, I think, another monastery in the Minories more to the east, a ruined tower of which is shown in some old views of London. The name "Goodman's Yard" in the neighbourhood would suggest that it was a Franciscan establishment of some kind, as the members of that Order were frequently called "Bons Hommes."

Aldersgate, and served a chapel called the Chapel of St. James on the Wall.

Passing through Aldgate a great surprise would have awaited us, for, instead of finding ourselves in a City street, we should have stood in the great court of a monastery, the famous Priory of Holy Trinity, or Christ Church, Aldgate. This superb religious house, the largest and most dignified in the City of London, was founded by the Empress Matilda, mother of Henry II. Matilda established it with Imperial magnificence, erecting vast and noble buildings, and endowing it with the whole ward of Portsoken and four parishes in the City of London. She also handed over to the Canons Regular the City gate itself. Like many pious and generous women she allowed her generosity to outrun her prudence, for the possession of this gate formed a perpetual bone of contention between the monks and the Corporation, the latter not unnaturally objecting to an arrangement which cut off one of the most important approaches to and exits from the City. So great, however, was the respect for the memory of Matilda that no English sovereign down to the time of Henry VIII. dared to interfere with this singular grant.

The way in which this magnificent monastery was brought to ruin makes us doubt whether Henry VIII. excelled more in the "Blue-Beard" line or the less sanguinary rôle of Jeremy Diddler. The suppression took place in the year 1531, that is, between the period of Wolsey's suppression of the "lesser monasteries," and that of the greater by Henry himself.

Henry owed Thomas Audley £100, part of his salary as Speaker of the House of Commons, and as was not unusual with this King, the money was not to hand, so Audley suggested to Thomas Cromwell that he would not mind *borrowing* Holy Trinity Priory in lieu of his debt. And now a somewhat startling coincidence occurs. Cromwell receives a letter begging the King to take the monastery into his own royal hands on account of the heavy debts in which it is involved! Of course that generous Sovereign Henry VIII. was only too ready to oblige the Prior. The monastery was suppressed, the monks turned out, and somewhat later the buildings handed over to Audley. There, however, ensued several suspicious circumstances. In the first place, there is a letter, from the Prior, complaining that he has received *no portion of the £700 a year* which was promised him! also that he has to keep the forty

monks, and "they have no money!" Then we find another letter from the Prior declaring that he had never made any complaint at all. Next we find that the butcher's and grocer's bills were not paid by the King—and those little bills never have *been paid!* It is not difficult to put all this together and make a very edifying case out of the transactions, but there is one point that needs explanation. Why should Henry VIII. and Cromwell, who had acted with such abominable meanness (to call it by no worse a name) to every one else have been so extraordinarily generous to Audley, absolutely *giving* him the buildings, whereas he had only suggested *borrowing* them? and there is a most suspicious circumstance about this when we come to consider the fact that, within some months of Audley's being placed in possession of Holy Trinity Priory, he was the Judge who had to try More and Fisher. One is inclined to ask whether this was the price of their blood?

Audley converted the building into a residence, but offered the materials of the church to any one who would remove them. No one, however, would come forward. Stowe, the old chronicler, informs us that the great tower was so strongly built that it cost Audley a large slice out of his income to pull it down; and the ruins of the church encumbered the ground until the commencement of the present century. After Audley's death the property passed into the hands of the Duke of Norfolk, from which fact it derived its name of Duke's Place. But no good luck went with it, and it gradually sunk in importance, and became covered with a very inferior class of tenements. It was also reported to be haunted by the ghost of one of the monks! A good Alderman of London in the reign of James I., struck with the forlorn and desolate aspect of the ruins of the church, built in the midst of them a brick church called "St. James," Duke's Place, which he described in an inscription over the doorway as "a Phoenix rising from the ashes of the ancient fane." With all his good intentions, however, the Phoenix proved but a sickly chicken, and the church, which was always more or less in difficulties, was closed many years back, and finally pulled down in the year 1880. Here it might have been supposed its history would be ended, but public attention was once more directed to the spot in 1888 by the horrible murder of Catherine Eddowes, whose mutilated body was discovered on the very site of the high altar of Empress Matilda's stately church. Of the magnificent Monastery of the Holy Trinity one solitary

arch now exists at the back of a marine outfitter's shop in Aldgate, but so short a time back as the year 1882 extensive remains of the cloisters were to be seen, consisting of noble Gothic vaultings very similar to those of the cloisters of Westminster Abbey. Unfortunately they were buried up to the top of the columns, which were not allowed to be excavated. I made sketches of these interesting remains immediately before their destruction.

In 1852 a massive and noble building was pulled down, which was called the "Church of St. Michael," but I have no doubt it was the *Domus Hospitium*, or guest-chamber for poor guests attached to the abbey. Drawings and engravings made during the last century show the ruins of the church, consisting of grand Norman columns and arches not unlike those of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield.¹

The old view of London in the Bodleian Library gives the church entire, with its noble central tower, great nave, and transepts—a veritable cathedral in proportion and dimensions, surrounded by a monastery consisting of four large courtyards, cloisters, great gates, and embattled walls.

The Church of St. Helen's Priory, Bishopsgate, is one of the most interesting buildings existing in the City. It consists of two naves and a single transept at the east end, opposite to which may be seen the pierced apertures in the wall which opened into the nuns' choir. The church is often called "the Westminster Abbey of the City," on account of the number of City worthies who are buried within its walls. The most interesting monument is that of Sir John Crosby and his lady, in the time of Edward IV. He erected the fine old mansion called after him Crosby Place, now Crosby Hall. Sir Miles Outeswitch, who built the Church of St. Martin Outeswitch in Bishopsgate Street, also has a monument here, which was removed from the latter church when it was pulled down a few years back.

At the commencement of this century the ruins of the monastery, consisting of a beautiful Early English refectory, cloisters, and vaulted hall, were in existence. The great dormitory of the nuns was converted into the hall of the Leathersellers' Company, and was very handsomely fitted up with carved oak panelling in the time of James I. Nothing,

¹ Several engravings of these remains are to be found in a series of views of London, in twenty-seven volumes—unindexed, unpagged, and unarranged—in the Guildhall Library.

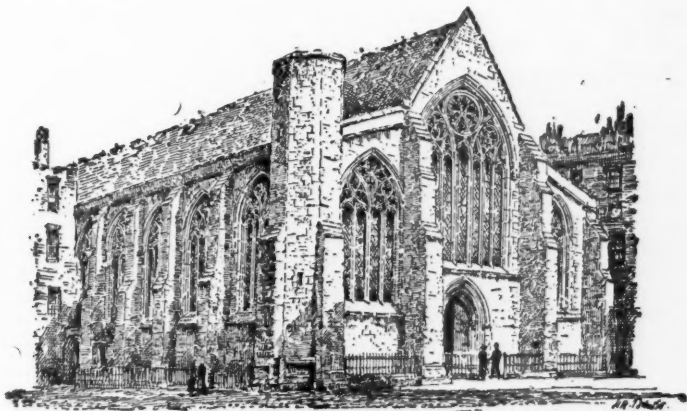
however, of all this now exists; the modern St. Helen's Place occupies its site.

Crosby Hall, close at hand, is now used as a restaurant. It is most interesting from its having been, for some time, the residence of Sir Thomas More. Here he may possibly have written his *Utopia*, or have been visited by Erasmus, who has left us such a charming account of More's household—a far more genuine *Utopia* than the *Nusquama* of his invention, for the one was a pattern Christian household, whereas the other was a masterpiece of wit and irony. The dining-hall of Crosby Place is very perfect, with its finely-carved oak roof and oriel window. There is also a fine chamber called the throne-room, from Crosby Place having, in the days of Richard III., served as a royal residence. There was formerly a chapel attached to the building, but it no longer exists.

In Bishopsgate Street Without, almost adjoining the parish church of St. Botolph, was a religious house dedicated to Our Lady of Bethlehem, corrupted into "Bedlam." It belonged to a brotherhood called the Order of the Visitation, whose chief duty was visiting the sick. It was founded by William de St. Mary-church, Bishop of London. In later times it was used chiefly as a hospital for the insane. The great modern mad-house, Bedlam, derives both its name and revenues from this establishment. It was a handsome building, consisting, to judge from ancient views of London, of a courtyard, with a cruciform church, crowned by a spire, standing in the centre, and a gate opening upon Bishopsgate.

On the opposite side of Bishopsgate, rather more to the east, was another monastery called "St. Mary Spital." It consisted of a large cruciform building, but I am inclined to think that the chancel only was used as a church, the nave forming the hospital, separated from the choir or chapel by a screen, as is the case at St. Mary's Hospital, Chichester. Attached to this hospital was a large cemetery, with a preaching cross (similar to the one at St. Paul's) in its centre, and two covered galleries, one for the Bishop of London and his clergy, and the other for the Lord Mayor and Corporation when they were present at the sermons. The cemetery possessed a chapel dedicated to St. Edmund. This monastic institution has given the name of Spitalfields to the district in which it stood, the word "Spital" being the old Saxon for hospital. Some scanty remains of the building were in existence as late as 1818.

A little within Bishopsgate, and rather to the west, stands the beautiful fourteenth-century Gothic church of the Augustinian Friars. In addition to the nave and aisles, which are now used as a Dutch church, it formerly possessed a spacious choir and very noble steeple, said to have been the finest in the City of London. Even in the time of Elizabeth, when ecclesiastical architecture was little valued, a petition was presented to the Marquis of Winchester, who was then in possession of this monastic house, begging him to keep "this most beautifullest steeple from falling down," a danger which seemed to threaten. The courtiers of Elizabeth's reign



THE AUGUSTINIAN CHURCH, NOW DUTCH CHURCH, LONDON.
(From Stewart Rose.)

were dead to such arguments, and this "most beautifullest" steeple shared the fate of many other magnificent ecclesiastical buildings. This same Marquis of Winchester is a fair example of the contemptible and degrading servility of the courtiers of that day. When asked how it was that he had retained the favour of every Sovereign from Henry VII. to Elizabeth, he returned answer that it was because he had been a reed and not an oak!

The neighbourhood of Austinfriars is also interesting because St. Ignatius Loyola resided here when he visited England in the year 1530. There was in fact a Spanish colony in Broad Street, and the Spanish Ambassador resided in a house which belonged to the friars. Although the friars had a fine church

and monastery, they seem to have preserved their monastic austerity to the last, because in a letter written to Erasmus by one of his friends, he is advised not to take up his residence with them, as they have nothing but empty rooms and keep a bad table!

I must now say a few words about the other friars' churches, which gave the names to the districts in which they stood—"Blackfriars," "Whitefriars," and "Greyfriars." The Black Friars, or Dominicans, possessed an enormous monastery, surrounded by walls and entered by gates, so large that the Lords and Commons assembled within it when the King was in residence at the Baynard's Castle. In addition to the monastic church, there was a parish church within the enclosure, the beautiful tower-arch of which existed in 1853.¹ A painful history attaches to the place, for there in 1529 assembled the Parliament which commenced the divorce proceedings against Queen Catherine of Aragon.

There are now no remains of this great religious house; but about thirty years back, upon enlarging the *Times* newspaper office, some portions of the church were discovered, and an oil painting made of them.

The great house of the Carmelites, or White Friars, stood close to that of the Dominicans, on the opposite bank of the Fleet river. It had a large church with a tower, not unlike St. Dunstan's in the West.²

But of all the religious houses in London, that of the Grey Friars was the most remarkable. It stood upon the site of the present Bluecoat School, where a portion of the old cloister can still be traced. Their church was a very magnificent one, being three hundred feet long, that is, more than double the length of the Pro-Cathedral, Kensington, sixty-four feet high and eighty-nine feet wide. It was first erected in 1239, but rebuilt entirely or partly—the choir by Margaret, second wife of Edward I., in 1306: and the nave by John Briton, Earl of Richmond, Mary Countess of Pembroke, Ellen Spencer, Lady Burgh, and several very eminent citizens. Some of the stained glass windows were given by Margaret Countess of Norfolk. The building was twenty-one years in course of erection, and no church in the City except St. Paul's was so full of costly monu-

¹ There is a water-colour drawing of this in the Guildhall Library.

² A portion of this monastery was brought to light about five years back in pulling down a row of houses close to the Thames Embankment.

ments. In front of the high altar was buried Queen Margaret, wife of Edward I., and in the choir Isabel, the much maligned wife of Edward II., Eleanor and Beatrice Duchesses of Brittany, Peter de Montfort, Roger Mortimer the Earl of March, Margaret Duchess of Norfolk, John Duke of Bourbon, who was taken prisoner at Agincourt, and more than one hundred and twenty members of the nobility. In the time of Edward VI. an alderman named Sir Martin Bowes pulled down and sold nine tombs of alabaster and marble, which were in the choir, besides seven score marble gravestones, for which this hound received the sum of £50! This magnificent church and monastery were situated in the nastiest part of the whole City, surrounded by slaughter-houses and butchers'-stalls. The streets by which it was approached bore the unsavoury names of Blow-bladder Street and Stinking Lane. At the back, however, the friars had a fair garden, which was very necessary, and also a noble library erected for them by the celebrated Sir Richard Whittington and well stocked with books.

And here I must say a few words about this truly great man. What Alfred is to kingship, Bayard to knighthood, that Whittington is to commerce. He is the pattern of everything that a powerful, rich merchant ought to be! Strictly and scrupulously honourable in every act, princely in generosity, saintly in his life; a terror to evil-doers, and unbounded in charity. Amongst a few of his acts in this regard may be enumerated the following: The building and endowment of the Church of St. Michael Paternoster, and the College attached to it. A set of almshouses connected with St. Michael's. The rebuilding of the chapel of Guildhall; the great library of the Franciscan Monastery; the building and endowing a chapel on the bridge at Rochester, the ruins of which still exist. Rebuilding the chapel of Ludgate prison for poor debtors. Rebuilding the Hospital of St. Bartholemew the Less, with the chapel and small priory attached. The completion of the nave of Gloucester Cathedral (probably the west front and vaulting), and some additions to Old St. Paul's—I think, the chapter-house and little cloisters.

Whittington was four times Lord Mayor of London (so that the prophecy of Bow bells understated matters). Although elected the first time by an arbitrary act of the King upon the death of the Lord Mayor in office in 1396, yet he so gained the esteem and confidence of the citizens that he was by their own suffrages re-elected in 1397, 1406, and 1419.

Some historical writers of the last century, who thought themselves immensely wise because they believed nothing, attempted to throw doubt upon much of the history of our old friend Dick Whittington. Recent discoveries and documentary evidence have, however, told strongly against these writers, and have re-established our old nursery hero and his wonderful cat. These writers, for instance, in their superior wisdom declared that the story of the cat was an absurd fable never heard of before the seventeenth century! that vessels called cats undoubtedly led to the foolish story! that the cat was known all over the world, and that it is ridiculous to suppose that it was a scarce animal anywhere in the fourteenth century, &c. Now, fortunately, Dr. Lyssons, an excellent antiquary, carefully examined into the question, and succeeded in thoroughly demolishing the whole of these objections. The most remarkable discovery came to light quite accidentally about the year 1822, for upon pulling down a house close to Gloucester Cathedral, which in the year 1460 was known to have belonged to Whittington's grand-nephew, and had probably previously belonged to Whittington himself, a sculptured spandrel of a doorway was discovered—evidently a work of the fifteenth century, representing a lad carrying a cat. A picture of about the same date was also discovered in London; both of which prove distinctly that the tradition of the cat can be traced back almost to the time of Whittington, whereas the ships called "cats" were unknown before the seventeenth century. It is also now known that even in some parts of Europe the cat (the animal, not the ship) was scarce, even in the eighteenth century. Now, I think you will agree with me that our old friend "pussy" has the best of the argument, and is not to be so easily ousted from her place in the history of London.

Whittington's character is admirably summed up in the epitaph which formerly existed over his grave in St. Michael's Royal:

Ut fragrans Nardus
Fama fuit iste Ricardus
Albificans villam,
Qui juste texerat illam
Pauperibus Pater
Et major qui fuit urbis
Martius hunc vicit.
Eu? Annos gens tibi dicit
Finit ipse dies.
Sis sibi Christe quies.

Amen.

The memory of this great and good man, this "father of the poor" and "more than father to his City," was disgracefully outraged by the parson of St. Michael's Royal in Edward VI.'s time. The grave was broken open in the expectation of finding treasure hidden therein, but, being disappointed, he contented himself by stealing the lead coffins of Whittington and Dame Alice his wife, and flinging back the bones into the grave. Queen Mary, however, insisted upon the Corporation rebuilding the tomb and providing new coffins. All, however, was again destroyed by the Great Fire of London in 1666. And the celebrated Sir Richard Whittington has now no memorial in the City to which he was so generous a benefactor, so brilliant an example, and of which he was so illustrious a citizen. As long, however, as the English race exists, and so long as our language lasts, as his epitaph says, "fragrant as the spikenard shall be the fame of this Richard."

It would tire your patience were I to attempt to record the Catholic memories which surround the Corporation of London, with its ancient guilds and companies. Few people are aware how thoroughly religious was the mediæval institution of these companies, but the very titles by which they were originally known prove this beyond a doubt. For instance, the Drapers' Company is described as being established "to the honour of our Lord Jesus Christ and His sweet Mother St. Mary, Our Ladye of Bethlehem." The Salters' Company was established "in honour of the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the Church of All Saints, commonly called Allhallows, Broad Street." The Merchant Tailors were "a fraternity of St. John the Baptist." The Haberdashers were "the fraternity of St. Catharine the Virgin." The Clothworkers were "the fraternity of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary." The Armourers were "the brothers and sisters of the fraternity of St. George;" and the Bakers were "the fraternity of the Holy Name of Jesus." The motto of the Tallow Chandlers is, *Ecce, Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi*. All these companies had their special chapels or were attached to certain churches, and some of their ceremonies were remarkable. The Salters' Company, for instance, had to attend a "Requiem" at St. Magnus' on certain days, and after the Mass the master had to knock three times upon the grave of one of the brothers who had founded a chantry, and say in a solemn voice after each knock, "How be you, Brother Salter?" This singular custom was

observed until quite recently, but as the "Requiem" had long ceased to be said, the question had lost its meaning. Let us hope, however, that good "Brother Salter" had long before gone to his reward. The Merchant Tailors' Company had to meet on certain days, and the brothers and *sisters* were commanded to eat bread and cheese and drink beer, "in honour of St. John the Baptist"! Probably this was the origin of the great City banquets, but although the viands are now more costly, the ladies are banished from the feasts and the saints not specially commemorated.

There were a great number of colleges of priests in London, and I will just point out that there is a noble crypt which belonged to the College of Corpus Christi on Laurence Pountney Hill, founded by a citizen of that name.¹ The church which is shown in Vischer's and Hollar's views, with a lofty spire, was destroyed by the fire of 1666 and not subsequently rebuilt. Many other crypts, marking the sites of religious houses or colleges, are still to be seen. There is, or was until very lately, a fine one in Broad Street, which, I think, belonged to the Hospital or College of St. Anthony. The brothers of that institution had the right of running-in all strayed pigs in the City, and holding them over to ransom!

The western suburbs of the city were almost as rich in monastic establishments as the northern and eastern, and fortunately they have escaped the havoc and destruction which reigned in those regions. So that the most valuable remains of former magnificence are to be found in what were formerly the western and southern suburbs.

We cannot of course include Westminster as in the middle ages. Westminster was a separate town, but even apart from the magnificent Abbey, we shall find much to interest us. The noble old Priory Church of St. Bartholomew, with its grand Norman choir, its transepts, and Lady chapel, which have recently been rescued from destruction, and the still unsecured, but splendidly vaulted cloisters, form a noble group of monastic architecture. Like Holy Trinity, Aldgate, this was a house belonging to the great Order of the Canons Regular, and was founded by Rayhere, Court-jester to Henry I., who became a monk and afterwards Prior here. The massive Norman columns and arches stand as firmly as when he erected them, and when looking at this solemn and most impressive

¹ This crypt is, I believe, shortly to be destroyed.

building, I have often wondered what Rayhere's jokes could have been like; that they must have been excellent goes without saying, for Henry "Beauclerk" so highly esteemed Rayhere that he gave largely towards the building, and it is too awful to think for a moment what would have been the fate of a man who perpetrated a bad pun or told a stale joke before Henry I. Rayhere's effigy, it is true, has a damaged nose, but this was the work of the Puritans of a far later age, and was not taken from life.

Another most interesting monastic establishment within a stone's throw of St. Bartholomew's exists almost entire, it is



A MONASTIC WORKSHOP. CHARTER HOUSE.
(From Stewart Rose.)

the Charter House, or Carthusian Priory, founded by that redoubted knight, Sir Walter Manny. This charming building was saved from destruction by being bought up and its buildings converted into a school. The great court, the wash-house court, the church refectory, guests'-hall, and monastic workshops are almost perfect, and there are considerable remains of the great cloister. I need scarcely remind you of the heroic part taken by the monks of this monastery in the days of Henry VIII.

Of course every one here has visited St. Etheldreda's, Ely

Place, that exquisite architectural gem, the possession and preservation of which we owe to the late Father Lockhart. It is an example of mediæval architecture of the noblest style, and the great east and west windows have been alluded to by the late Professor Freeman as typical specimens of Gothic window-tracery. The crypt, now serving as the Church of St. Bridget, though less noble than the upper chapel, is wonderfully solemn, and has fortunately preserved its look of great antiquity. As it now stands, surrounded by the noble monastic churches no longer ours, it always brings to my mind that passage in the Book of Esdras where the Prophet says: "Prayer has been made before the Lord our God to leave us a remnant and give us a pin in His holy place."

Of the two Priors of St. James and St. John, Clerkenwell, the remains of the latter alone are to be seen. They consist of a fine old gateway and the choir of the knights' church, with a noble crypt. The great church was reduced to a ruin in Henry VIII.'s time, but Cardinal Pole restored the choir as a parish church, and although partly modernized, it is an interesting fragment. No longer back than the commencement of this century, the cloisters and a portion of the Priory Church of St. James were in existence, but now nothing is to be traced.

The Canons Regular possessed a third magnificent monastery dedicated to our Lady, and called St. Mary Overy, the church of which still exists, and is known as St. Saviour's, Southwark. The choir is a noble example of Early English work. The transepts were rebuilt by Gower the poet in the fourteenth century, and the tower, which is so conspicuous in all views of London, dates from the end of the fifteenth century. The fine nave had been rebuilt about sixty years back in the vilest imitation Gothic, but is now being reconstructed more in accordance with its original style. Some interesting features have been brought to light during this rebuilding which disclose fragments of a still earlier church. Of the monastic buildings nothing now remains, though there were extensive remains at the commencement of this century. It is said that in Elizabeth's reign, the monastic buildings were occupied by a Lady Montague, and that it was one of the few places in which Mass was allowed to be said.

It would be impossible in this paper to describe the some one hundred and twenty parish churches which existed in London before the Reformation. A Roman prelate, who visited

our City in the reign of Henry VII. speaks in glowing terms of the wealth of these religious edifices, and declares that he counted over one hundred shrines of gold in these churches.

I must, however, refer to a great singularity about the dedications, or I should rather say the names, of the parochial churches in the city. In most towns and cities the churches are distinguished by the names of the saints to whom they are dedicated, and the name of the street or district in which they stand, but in London many of the churches possessed both Christian and surname, borrowing their surname generally from their founder. Thus we have St. Martin's Outwich, St. Benet Sherehog, St. Catherine Ongar, St. Lawrence Pounteney, St. Benet Fink, St. John Zachary, St. Catherine Coleman, St. Mary Bothaw, St. Mary Monthaw, St. Mary Somerset, St. Margaret Moses, and others. (Moses was not an uncommon name among City merchants in early times, they were probably descended from Jewish ancestors.)

I must now hurry on to describe the great ecclesiastical glory of London, if not of England—the magnificent Cathedral of St. Paul, which was, with the exception of St. Peter's, in Rome, the largest church ever erected. Ancient records tell us that it was 690 feet long, that is, 100 feet longer than Westminster Abbey, including Henry VII.'s chapel, 300 feet wide at the transepts and 100 feet to the vaulting. The great central spire was 515 feet high, there were two small spires at the west end, and an isolated tower crowned by a spire near the east end. The nave was massive Norman, the transepts mixed in style, and the vast choir built by St. Roger, Bishop of London in the thirteenth century, was of the noblest Gothic. There were two cloisters—one on the north and the other on the south side. The one hundred and fifty priests who served this vast church lived in a number of colleges surrounding the Cathedral, erected round a great close enclosed by high walls and entered by seven very handsome gates. There were within the close the Bishop's palace and many sumptuous and beautiful chapels. In the centre of the great cloisters called Pardon Church Haugh stood a chapel founded by the father of St. Thomas à Becket, which, Stowe says, together with its cloister was filled with such magnificent monuments that they surpassed even those in the Cathedral itself.¹

¹ Upon pulling down a house a few months back, some graves were discovered which marked the site of Pardon Church Haugh.

John Carpenter, founder of the City of London School and executor of Richard Whittington, had these cloisters adorned with a series of pictures representing "The Dance of Death," and he appointed John Lydgate, the poet, to write a poem describing them, the verses of which appear to have been inscribed beneath each picture. One of these verses is very remarkable.

Death first addresses the Pope as follows :

Ye that been set most high in dignity
Of all estates in earth spiritual,
And like as Peter hath the soverainte
Over the Church and States temporall
Upon this daunce ye first beginne shall.

Death certainly seems to have held pretty strong "Ultramontane views." His address to the little child is very charming, and the last line is quite proverbial.

Little faunt that wert but late born.
Shaped in this world to have no pleasaunce.
Ye must with others that gone here beforne,
Be led in haste by fatal ordinance
Learne of new to gone on my daunce,
There may none age escape in soth therefro'.
Let every wight hold this in rembraunce,
Who longest liveth most shall suffer woe.

A superb chapel called Sherringtons Chantry was an isolated building standing near the great south door of the Cathedral. It was erected by a wealthy canon of the Cathedral in the most elaborate style, and was most richly endowed by its founder. At the Reformation all these chapels were suppressed and pulled down. Heaven (and possibly the other place) knows what became of their revenues. As an example of what took place, Dugdale says that Henry VIII. lost at a cast of the dice, to Sir Miles Partridge, the gilt statue of St. Paul which crowned the campanile, and the five great bells called "Jesus Bells," which hung in the tower. And "these same were taken down and carted away by the said Sir Miles Partridge."

Protector Somerset in the reign of Edward VI. pulled down the great cloisters of Pardon Church Haugh and a great library built over them by the before-named rich Canon Sherrington, and carted the stones away to build his new mansion, Somerset

House. What became of the books is unknown, probably Somerset *borrowed* them, as he did those given by Whittington to the library of Guildhall, but, as in that case also, he forgot to return them—a not uncommon failing, by the way, even amongst some otherwise good men.

The eastern portion of St. Paul's forming the retro-choir and containing the shrine of St. Erkenwald, the principal altar of our Lady,¹ and six other altars, was called the "new work," and erected at the close of the thirteenth century. Considerable contributions to this magnificent building were sent from Ireland, the Bishops taking up the cause warmly and making the giving of alms to this work one of the conditions of certain Indulgences.

The Bishops named by Dugdale are as follows: Christian, Bishop of Emely; William, Bishop of Leghlin; Gilbert, Bishop of Imely; Isaac, Bishop of Killalow; William, Bishop of Connor; Thomas, Bishop of Elphin; David, Bishop of Cashel; Thomas, Bishop of Down.

Although not quite so rich in monuments as Westminster, St. Paul's was the burial-place of two Kings, Ethelred and Sebba, twenty-four Bishops, John of Gaunt, William de Lacy, Dean Colet, and many other celebrated men. Their monuments were fine works. The treasury of the Cathedral was so rich in vestments, chalices, crosses, shrines, &c., that the inventory given in Dugdale occupies forty closely printed pages.

Three Saints had shrines in the Cathedral—Erkenwald, a most sumptuous work, St. Miletus, and St. Roger. There were thirty-five altars in the main fabric alone, not including the crypt. Probably, all things considered, Europe did not contain a more magnificent church than Old St. Paul's. Alas, that one should have to say *did*, instead of *does*! but of the splendid structure nothing now remains except one respond of the crypt, the base wall of the east cloister walk, and the footing of two buttresses of the chapter-house.

We have, however, numerous drawings and engravings representing it at various periods between 1522 and 1666. One of the most singular is a picture in possession of the Society of Antiquaries, showing a visit supposed to be paid to the church by King James I. The picture was painted in anticipation, and the visit did not come off—at any rate, not at that time. Although the smoke from the chimneys of the houses built

¹ There were three altars dedicated to our Lady in Old St. Paul's.

against the Cathedral has the following pathetic appeal inscribed over it—

See, O Kynge, how my wall-creepers
Have made me worke for chimney-sweepers—

when James did eventually go to St. Paul's, he disappointed the expectations of the clergy and City by suggesting that so good a work as the restoration of the Cathedral would be more fittingly carried out by a "general benevolence" than by a grant from the royal treasury! And little or nothing was done to save the Cathedral from destruction until the time of Bishop (afterwards Archbishop) Laud. With the best of intentions, Laud and his friend, Sir Paul Pindar (whose beautiful house in Bishopsgate existed a few years back), perpetrated dreadful architectural barbarities. The architect, Inigo Jones, erected a Grecian portico at the west end, and introduced classical cornices, rusticated pilasters, and architraves, all along the noble old Norman nave. The work was, however, put a stop to by Cromwell, and the whole of the ancient monuments, stalls, and other fittings, destroyed. At the Restoration, Wren was called in. He reported the Cathedral to be in a condition threatening ruin, and absolutely suggested pulling down the great tower and its four noble arches, and placing a dome in the centre of the building. In the library of St. Paul's Cathedral there is a very scarce French engraving, absolutely showing Old St. Paul's with a large dome in the centre, but the work was certainly never carried out, as before it was commenced the grand old church was destroyed, together with the City, in the dreadful fire of 1666. As the building was filled with scaffolding, nothing could save it, and thus perished the largest Gothic church ever built. Dugdale, who wrote his *History of St. Paul's Cathedral* in the year 1658, fortunately had drawings made by Wenceslaus Hollar of both the church and its most celebrated monuments.

The passage from the Psalms which Sir William Dugdale quotes on his title-page, published eight years before the Great Fire of London, seems prophetic in its application, not to the Cathedral alone, but to the ancient City also: "Walk about Sion, and go round about her; tell the towers thereof: Marke ye well her bulwarks, consider her palaces, that ye may tell it to the generations following."

H. W. BREWER.

*On a Basilica Church for London.*¹

[COMMUNICATED.]²

I.

THE Catholic body, or a portion of it, some years ago, became possessed of a valuable freehold property which was formerly occupied by the Bridewell House of Correction, Westminster. That property, in its entirety, was capable to yield a site for a Cathedral Church which might have been made one of the finest in London. Had the outlying portion been sold to the speculative builder, or let upon a building lease, and had the central part, rectangular in form, been retained in the hands of its late owners, a Temple might have arisen under conditions seldom realized in the midst of a vast modern capital city; and the result attained might have been noteworthy. But, the past is irremediable; and the inevitable has to be accepted. From circumstances of which the writer has partial knowledge only, but which now may well be held to have been unavoidable, the chance of creating in London a site suitable for the erection of a church of almost boundless proportions, in the

¹ *A History of Architecture in all Countries from the Earliest Times to the Present Day.* Five vols. By James Fergusson. Third Edition. Edited by R. P. Spiers. London: Murray, 1893. Part II. of this valuable work will repay careful study by those who desire special information on early Christian architecture, basilicas, the Byzantine styles, and the like. The writer is much and deeply indebted to Mr. Fergusson, and avows his indebtedness in general terms, in order to avoid references. Specially, he has utilized measurements without actual acknowledgment. It may be added that the orientation of the sanctuaries of the early Roman basilicas has been added for the first time in the third edition. A regret may be excused, that Mr. Spiers, in his many improvements in the text, has not seen his way to correct Mr. Fergusson's unscholarlike terminology, when he speaks of churches with three aisles, in the place of nave and two aisles, and of the central aisle, instead of the nave.

² These Papers are the result of the study of churches in Rome and other Italian cities. They have existed in outline for years. Some months ago they took form in MS., and were submitted to others for consideration. Under advice, they are now made public; but the writer retains the copyright of them. Plans and drawings to illustrate the text are being prepared.

place of building a Cathedral to accommodate itself to a site of limited area, and perhaps of dimensions inadequate for its purpose, was for ever lost. An imaginary line is said to have been drawn, by the chairman of the company who then owned the land, bi-secting the incomparably fine ground-plan at disposal. One half was sold. And the moiety that remained is still available for the purpose, in view of which the whole was originally acquired—namely, the erection of a Cathedral church, national, memorial, and Catholic, for the Archdiocese and Province of Westminster.

Upon the site of Bridewell Prison, as a whole, which had been secured for the Catholic Church by the statesman-like forethought and policy of the late Cardinal Manning, of revered memory, whose loss the Church mourns, the end in view was not destined to be fulfilled, nor even practically to be commenced, by its original promoter. The Cardinal was called to his reward; and no plan of action had been decided upon at his death, saving the realized plan of postponing all action. The duty of making at the least an effort to begin the work was left by him as a pious legacy to those who immediately followed. They were to do what he earnestly desired should be done, and was convinced ought to be done, but for sufficient reasons himself abstained from doing. The Archbishop has been heard to say words to the effect that, great as was his wish to merit remembrance for good works in the future, yet, he had rather be held in memory by the Christianized lives of those whom he had reclaimed, or guided, or influenced, specially amongst the young, the sinful, and the poor, than that his memory should be perpetuated in howsoever grand a style in brick and mortar. It is not improbable, however, that the great Cardinal's memory will be eventually perpetuated in both ways, as it is certainly already remembered in one. The many-sided problem of which he furnished the first, and it may be added the indispensable factor towards solution—namely, a plot of mother Earth on which to build—has to be mastered, in all likelihood, by the present generation. In any case, the question has to be faced and struggled with. The Catholic body of to-day, or of the immediate future, have another opportunity offered to them—in the matter of a site which may be utilized—that is hardly, if at all, less important, architecturally speaking, than the first, of performing a similar task. Indeed, it may be argued that the present site lends

itself, by its peculiar conformation, to far greater architectural effects, from a picturesque standpoint, than a mere rectangular block of ground. Be this as it may, the need for Catholics to erect, and the obligation of Catholics to make an effort to erect, a cluster of buildings which may supply the present necessities of the Church they represent in this country, and on whose behalf they work, has, under conditions which cannot here and now be stated, become definite, urgent, absolute. And it is as an act of devotion to the memory of the deceased Archbishop—honoured by all his contemporaries whose honour was worthy of possession, and beloved of many whose affection was well-deserved—that the following plan is submitted for the consideration of those whom it may concern. It contains suggestions of an idea by which the aspirations of Cardinal Manning may be effected on the very spot long ago chosen for its accomplishment by himself, and almost, so far as the principal dimensions are concerned, in the same proportional measurements which he advocated. The plan, apart from its avowed imperfections and shortcomings, claims for itself these several features. 1. That it utilizes, or can be made eventually to utilize, the whole of the land set apart for the Cathedral of the future by the late Cardinal Archbishop. 2. That it keeps in view the position in England which the Catholic Church is obviously and with giant and rapid strides regaining, and which—whosoever may be living—she cannot long be prevented from attaining. 3. That it is practically an elastic plan, and may be completed eventually, without injury to the immediate results which may be partially carried out on the same lines. And 4. That it is financially a practicable plan—the impatient temper of the age being curbed and a wide horizon for the incoming of means being enclosed—if undertaken in the way in which nearly all the great ecclesiastical edifices in Europe have been completed, *i.e.*, by degrees, in the slow but sure course of time.

The ideas which underlie much of the following plan for the building of a Basilica Church in London, are mainly five-fold :

I. To create a composite ecclesiastical cluster of buildings, for the use of the Church in England, which, within its area, shall supply many, if not all, of the more necessary architectural requirements of the Catholic community at the present time. This cluster of buildings will become, in the future, a centre

of Catholic religious life, on its devouter and more practical sides, in the capital city.

II. To create this composite building for the use of the Church in the primitive form, in regard to design and outline, of Christian architecture, viz., the Basilican; and to be guided in all its details by the earliest known style of Christian ornamentation, viz., the Byzantine, modified, developed, and perhaps improved, by its successor, the Lombardic-Romanesque.

III. To recognize, in all important features and details, the principles of architectural authority. This recognition, liberally interpreted, involves the imitation and adaptation of existing models and specimens, so far as they may be utilized with a common end in view, without either servile copying, which would be destructive of unity of design, and without aiming at mere originality in conception and treatment, beyond such origination as, from the nature of the case, cannot be avoided. The principles here glanced at—it may be added—do not impose the obligation to avoid any of the mechanical appliances or any of the scientific inventions or improvements, either in construction or in ornament, of which the profession may be possessed at the present day.

IV. To utilize in the construction or beautifying of the ecclesiastical buildings, saving exceptions which need not be named, nothing but material and manufactures which are of British origin, such as—among other items—English brick and stone, terra-cotta, glass, iron, and oak; Scotch granite; and Irish marble. Also, as a rule, again not without exceptions, to employ as workmen and artificers none but Catholics who might, after ancient custom, become life-long builders, perhaps in the persons of the successors, for several generations, banded together in some modified form of a mediæval Guild.

V. To realize the spirit and temper of the times in which such an Ecclesiastical Foundation could alone be successfully originated and could eventually hope to be completed; and to meet the same, so far as possible, in two ways. First, to produce a design which, admitting of partial completion only, in the immediate future, shall be such that a fraction of the building may be a self-contained plan, perfect in all its architectural features. And, secondly, to erect such a fractional part of the whole plan as may be complete in all its details of architectural ornamentation. Thus, within a measurable distance of to-day, an organic fraction of the Basilica of the future will be self-

evident to the coming generation, which shall unmistakeably indicate both the design and the detail of a completer and a more perfect Cathedral Church.

Two supplementary notes may be added. In the first place, the ground at disposal for the Cathedral of the future will cause the building to face, longitudinally, North and South, not East and West; and thus, not of choice but of necessity, to follow the example of nearly all the older Basilicas, which, as a fact, were not built with an intentional orientation. Hence, in order to avoid increasing the ambiguities of the English language, the conventional points of the compass, speaking architecturally, and not the actual geographical points, will be hereafter employed to indicate the East-end and West-front of the Cathedral, and the North and South-sides respectively. And secondly, if in the discussion of the past it be grammatically lawful to adopt a form of speech which is known as the historical-present, a liberty may be apologetically taken in the descriptive portion of this discussion to adopt a grammatical form of narration which may be termed the "prophetical-present." Thus, the Church will hereafter be described in detail, for brevity and distinctness' sake, as if actually in existence, though the design be not so much as finally matured, and perhaps never will be perfected.

II.

A preliminary inquiry has to be made, on the manifold objects to the attainment of which the Basilica of the future and its adjuncts will, under the present plan, be devoted. Accepting the position of the Catholic Church in England, as described by the lips of the ecclesiastical head of the Established Religion, and accepting the title somewhat indiscreetly conferred upon it, in the unwittingly prophetic spirit in which it was uttered, we may rejoice in the stigma of being the "Italian Mission" to England. We are such. We have been, as a fact, commissioned from Italy to re-evangelize for the second time, with no less assured success than at the first, our own dear native country. As a Missionary Church to a people robbed of their faith (as Cardinal Manning was fond of repeating)—a Church, moreover, unendowed and non-established—what are some of the requirements, it may be asked, both in the spiritual and in the temporal order, which such a composite building as the proposed new Cathedral could be made to furnish? Bearing

in mind the state of society in England at the present day, the awakening of the upper classes to their duties and their willingness to perform them; the consciousness of the democracy of their rights, and the claims they found thereupon—they now not being powerless to obtain them; and the efforts made on all hands to accommodate the one to the other—a material Catholic centre of action, in ways too many to be here named, is one desideratum in the future. Next may be mentioned, the want of suitable buildings of a kind which will stand between the various classes of educational organizations, or which will supplement some and extend and develope others. Even if it be impossible to include any means whereby secondary education may be included in this purview, the idea that some details of technical and of higher education may be undertaken within the confines of these ecclesiastical buildings is by no means chimerical; whilst, the convenient local situation of the Basilican—close in regard to public conveyance, simplifies the difficult question, in a vast city, of locomotion to and fro. Education, however, in early youth and life is only commenced in the school and class-room. A man who is worthy of the name educates himself in later life: and books are an essential to this end. Hence, the ideal-Cathedral Library of the future must not be forgotten in any complete and well-considered design for building. To this must be added a section of a comprehensive scheme elaborated and made public last year, by Mr. Charles Gatty, for supplying the need for studying Christian Antiquities, by the formation of a museum to that end—to take but a single division of his exhaustive plan. Another subdivision of adult education can hardly be ignored, in the future development of the Missionary Church to a country unhappily fallen from the Catholic faith. This includes the question of public teaching from a rostrum which is not necessarily a seat of authority. Space must be found for lecture-rooms, whether for direct instruction in the elements of theology, for the laity; or for the indirect, and sometimes the more effective method of teaching the truth through the contradiction of error; or for more general discussions, historical and other, and even for controversy. Moreover, rooms for the meetings of confraternities and guilds; perhaps for club purposes; as well as for all purposes connected with the choir; and for those of Catholic societies, as well as for diocesan administration and other ecclesiastical business—these too must be provided in the plan.

And as a final object of Catholic gathering, mention may be made of social-reunion, which seems almost to be floating in the air. Under carefully framed conditions rooms might be assigned for social inter-communication between Catholics, friends and acquaintances—a great want at the present day, according to the judgment of many who feel it, whether the want exists amongst the upper-ten-thousand to whom Catholic *salons* are now unknown, or amongst the million, saving in a few happy centres, chiefly in the privileged East-end. Such gatherings, it may be added, would be independent of the official receptions of those in authority at the Cathedral.

Last in order of being named, first in order of moment, the Cathedral of the future will become the "Mother and Mistress" of all Churches in that other "Papacy" which we call England. On this point, it will be becoming for a layman to use words cautious and few. It cannot be thought amiss or unseemly, however, to say that the Westminster Basilica would powerfully fulfil three distinct functions. Within its sacred walls would be offered the Holy Sacrifice daily, not with greater reverence, nor with more carefulness, nor yet with deeper piety than it is now offered in hundreds of the Chapels of the "Italian Mission;" but, with greater dignity, with more ceremonial pomp, and not without the sensibly affective, inspiring and soothing influence of music. In short, the metropolis would again, after three centuries of abstention, witness the offering and be blessed in the celebration of daily High Mass. Next, the Sanctuary of the Basilica might daily resound with the public solemn recitation of the Divine Office, which, it is believed, is said at present and in public, and that by the Dominican Order at Haverstock Hill, in one church only in London. Finally, the transepts, nave and aisles of the London Basilica of "Our Lady" might seek to emulate the congregations, whether of one sex, or of both sexes, which throng the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, for the periodical Conferences and Sermons of able and selected Priests who possessed the gift of oratory. Of these three points nothing further need be, nothing further will be, said by the present writer; though it will be necessary to add somewhat in detail on the previously named and the more secular aspects of the proposed adjuncts to, or suggested uses of the new Ecclesiastical buildings.

III.

The question has now to be asked and answered: Can the ground site which will bear the future Cathedral be made to sustain the weight also of the miscellaneous accretions and additions above suggested? And this question presupposes a favourable reply to another far wider and much more important: Is it convenient, in the strict sense of the word, to create, in any case, such a composite cluster of buildings? To the former inquiry, speaking architecturally, an unhesitatingly affirmative response can, at once and with a light heart, be made. To the latter inquiry, a reply, at least by the present writer, doubtful, conditional and vague can alone be offered. Subject to superior knowledge and wisdom, and to a truer insight of the fitness of sacred things, in a word, to the decision of authority not yet pronounced, an answer may be ventured upon. It may be hazarded, therefore, that the erection of the composite buildings suggested for the use, in varied ways, of the Catholic body in London, may be considered, under existing conditions, to be not only lawful but expedient, not only a politic but a right course to advocate. This opinion is not even conditionally expressed without the opinion of one of wide experience and sound judgment having been obtained on its behalf. The question, therefore, need not be argued. The association in a common block of buildings of various sections which combine secular with spiritual objects, for an end that is good, is justifiable. On this basis it may now be said, that the plan of the Basilica to be presently adumbrated has practically provided for all the supposititious and many of the admitted wants of the Church and its members of to-day. And an idea of the way in which such provision has been made may be stated in general terms, and in terms which, being more or less contentious in character and apologetic, need not be expressed in the tense above called the "propheticalpresent."

(I.) As to the capabilities of a spiritual sort in the design for the future Basilica, it may be said that the ground-plan of the area displays ample accommodation for the three main results which have been previously indicated. First, the interior of the Cathedral will be cruciform in shape, and the High Altar will stand at an imposing elevation, not only and necessarily in sight of the entire nave, but also within easy view of a large body of worshippers who will fill the transepts and aisles—of course,

within certain lines of vision. Secondly, the Canonical Hours may be sung under two conditions. The lesser Hours may be recited daily from the Choir Stalls, which will run in a semi-circular form behind the High Altar. Solemn Vespers on Sundays and other Festivals may be sung in front of the Altar on the sanctuary platform, which will be of sufficient width and depth for high ceremonial observance. And, thirdly, for conferences and other sermons, the larger of the side chapels may be used for smaller congregations: whilst the transepts alone will be of equal dimensions with many large churches. Moreover, it is not impossible that some system may be devised for dividing off certain portions of the interior of the Basilica by means of heavy curtains during the time of preaching, in a manner suggested by experience gained abroad. Whilst, to second these efforts, the building will be large enough to admit the use of moveable pulpits, which can be mounted on high wheels (out of sight) for facility of movement, and, at least, until the acoustic properties of the edifice are tested, as a temporary expedient.

(II.) As to the material capacity of the Basilica to enclose within its area the means of furthering the temporal objects catalogued earlier in this paper, thus much may be said, without diverging prematurely into details. The ground-plan of the church will give evidence of three longitudinal divisions on each side of a spacious nave, to which attention may be confined in the first instance. Two of these ground spaces will be utilized as double aisles to the nave. On the third space will be built, though perhaps not at first, a series of side-chapels, running continuously the whole length, or nearly so, of both aisles. Both the aisles will be furnished with galleries above. Over the aisles nearest to the nave, on either side, will be built the Triforium Galleries. Over the aisles furthest from the nave, will be built long galleries, lighted directly from without. The side chapels will be differently treated. Of more than double the width of, and of equal aggregate length with the aisle galleries, they will supply space, both in a storey below and in a storey above, for a series of halls and rooms for the secular purposes in question. These galleries above the outer aisles, and these chambers both above and below the side chapels, will be absolutely separated from the sacred edifice, so far as their occupants or utilizers are concerned, will possess their own special means of approach and departure, and will only form an integral portion of the Basilica in so far as proximity in brick

and stone creates unification. Is it incompatible with the sanctity of the House of God—consideration being taken of the anomalous position of the Church in England at the present day—that these subordinate buildings, yet buildings in a sense devoted to God's service in the service of man, should be placed in immediate juxtaposition with, whilst practically independent of aisles and chapels that are consecrated? Authority must decide this question. Meantime, it may suffice to point out that the space at disposal, if the use be deemed permissible, of these spacious areas adjoining, above and below certain portions of the Cathedral are amply sufficient for all practical purposes to which Catholics of to-day can wish to apply them. And it may not be amiss to remark, in conclusion, that the old Cathedral buildings contained within their bounds their capitular libraries; that museums of Christian antiquities are actually attached to churches on the Continent; that a chapter-house formed a portion of every Cathedral close; and monasteries devoted to the cultivation of the spiritual life included the schools of the monks and lecture-rooms, their scriptoriums, and the mediæval printing-press, their recreation-rooms even, and their common workshop. Do these facts furnish a colourable approval from former times to the idea here shadowed forth? If so, they may suffice.

(III.) The outward appearance of the Basilica of the future will bear a few words of description. As a rule, the features which meet the eye externally will be indicative of the inward configuration of the building. This rule will prevent the necessity which some architects of churches presumably felt, of old time, in creating façades which did not altogether and exactly follow the features of the sacred building within. Hence, and in spite of the somewhat flat and rectangular appearance that will be imparted to the façade, the West-front of the Basilica which bounds and encloses the rectangular flat-roofed nave and aisles, will itself be drawn either absolutely at right angles, or with a gable sufficiently low to follow, or a balustrade sufficiently high to hide, the sloping lines of roofs which cast off the rain-water that falls upon them. The West-front, thus following the lines of the nave and aisles, will be relieved by a double-storied Narthex running the entire breadth of the building, and will be flanked, in perspective, by Baptistery and Campanile. The East-end will be supported on either side by the house of the Capitular body, and by the Archbishop's House; and the great

apsidal end of the sanctuary will be relieved by the projection of a semi-circular chapel for the Holy Sacrament. The North and South sides of the cluster of ecclesiastical buildings will be of varied outline. On the South side, the Campanile will dominate the whole pile. On the North, the Baptistry will become the prominent feature. And the huge central Lantern Tower will not fail to compare and contrast itself with the graceful form of the higher, and with the substantial dimensions of the two lower Towers. Whilst the two lofty transepts will convey to all beholders the cruciform shape of the Basilica proper; and the secular buildings will intimate that the ecclesiastical structure will be served by a staff of office-bearing clergy who demand house-room of a certain bulk to satisfy their necessary but humble requirements. The material, it may be added, of which the Basilican group of buildings will be constructed are those known to students of Italian architecture as "brick and marble"—*i.e.*, red brick and many coloured marble—terms which do not exclude, but almost presuppose, the use of granite in pillars and wall-courses, and of terra-cotta in frieze, string-course, panel, cornice, capital, and other items of construction or ornamentation: whilst the height of the Cathedral-close, dignified in itself, will be enhanced in dignity by the Basilica standing on a platform of a certain elevation, and by being approached, at its main entrance, by a broad and easy flight of steps.

IV.

In concluding this outline of a scheme for the construction of a Basilica Church for London, it may not be unwise to suggest an answer to two objections which, in part plausibly and in part really, may be, and will be, made to the scheme. One of these objections is artistic, and one is financial.

In the first place, it may be reasonably asked, how can the profession be expected to build a Basilica, whose sympathies in the main are directed towards, and whose experience, almost without exception, has been limited to, the construction of Gothic Churches; and what means can be taken to overcome the facts which lie behind and beneath the obvious, inevitable reply—without some preparation, they cannot thus be expected? It is possible, indeed, as is only too evident from many examples which disfigure our unhappy land, architecturally speaking—though many modern edifices are beyond praise—for nearly any one to build, or to essay to build, a Gothic Church.

In the actual presence of some of the most perfect and beautiful gems of the churches of Christendom, how greatly to be deplored are certain efforts to imitate them, or portions of them, or even to improve upon their plan and their detail. But, who can be competent to produce a Basilica, in all its primitive and simple Christian majesty and glory, with all its manifold peculiarities of form and shape and ornament, which shall be comparable to the master-pieces of the world, not one of which lies within the visual range of the majority of English architects? Of course, much may be learned from without, of the design and ornamentation of the Southern and Eastern Basilican Churches, and their lineal descendants in art, from sketches and models, from photographs and plans. But, the spirit and temper of the originals must be studied by sight and touch, in the life and on the spot, by personal inspection and contact. It is not too much to hope that he, or still better that they, who may eventually be entrusted with the immense responsibility of erecting a Basilica for the nineteenth century, and to supply the needs of the English Catholic Church, may be enabled, and even be induced to repair to the venerable shrines, and to inhale the atmosphere of the ancient existing examples, or their living successors, before an effort be made to recreate their image and likeness for modern worship. Indeed, it might be advisable, even at the cost of time and money, to send out a commission of selected experts, with a view to examine and report upon both the more famous and the least well-known of the Basilicas; to fill their mind and soul with the spirit of the most ancient forms of Christian architecture; and to return with the spoils of primitive Christian art, in the shape of copies of much that can be copied, and of plans and measurements of all that may be compassed, and memories stored with much that defies enumeration or removal, in order to be able to reproduce, artistically and ideally, both design and detail, in a national and memorial monument which may presently be built.

Lastly, it has been said above that the present scheme is financially a practicable plan. It is so: and though the dictum has to be explained, it is by no means to be explained away. The cost of such a Basilica Cathedral, with its composite additions, as the one which the writer has presumed very imperfectly to conceive and still more imperfectly to adumbrate in outline, no man living can estimate. Neither is there need so to do. The ultimate outlay expended on the cluster of

buildings comprising the Cathedral-close of "Our Lady" at Westminster, will depend upon the nature of the materials employed, the full extent of the buildings erected, the richness of the furniture (so to say) of the edifice and the decoration lavished upon its details. The final cost, within and without, it is impossible to calculate, at the outset. Sufficient for the day is the evil, or in this case, is the good thereof. If a beginning be made on a plan and a scale, with the genius and temper which command success by inspiring confidence, sooner or later the requisite amount of money will certainly inflow. Such plans continued in such a spirit, naturally and irresistibly attract to themselves the means to fulfil their legitimate end. They grow like the oak from the acorn. It is one of the cases of the spiritual life in which the worldly law of money is repeated—to him that hath shall be given. But, for any living person to expect to see more than a hopeful beginning of so vast a plan, is to form expectations predestined to disappointment: for any sane person to hope to see the end, were a fond delusion and a physical impossibility. Still, the improbable often happens and the impossible sometimes comes to pass, to those who have faith. And if thought be turned from imagination to fact, it may be affirmed, with little exaggeration, that the eyes of the Catholic world are centred on England and her religious career, and that the hopes of the world are centred on the future of English-speaking Catholicity, whether in the little spec of an Island which geographically is "Mary's Dower," or in the vast expanse of the New World, or in Australasia, or possibly in India, or certainly in the newest of all worlds from this standpoint, Africa. One of the most interesting and difficult of the religious problems of Christendom is how shall Protestant England and the English race be restored to the bosom of the Church? It is the solution of this moral problem that the civilized world expects: and the creation of the Basilica is one factor, and broadly viewed in its results is not at all a small factor, in the solution. It has been also said above, that the net for collecting the means once more to provide the English Catholic Church and to supply its civil and spiritual metropolis with a Cathedral that shall be worthy of the future of that Church, must be wide-spread. By this term the writer intended to convey that the subscription towards its construction must not be confined to the four seas of old England; but, that help to attain this result must be in extent world-wide. Christendom

must be canvassed to provide the ways and means to carry on the Catholic crusade of the nineteenth century : and the modern appliances of the printing-press and post-office, not apart from personal influence, must be enlisted to preach the new crusade. To this end, every country, every diocese, every bishop must be applied to, in the name of Christ, for aid, money aid and the aid of prayer. A circular letter in the sacred universal tongue must be composed, written in the concisest and plainest terms, setting forth the past history and present condition of the Holy Faith in Protestant England. This letter would describe how, in God's providence, and in His inscrutable wisdom, for causes unknown to us, the Church was overthrown and up-rooted in our well-loved native land ; how its edifices and revenues were sequestered ; how its priests and religious were expelled from their homes, were hunted, exiled, tortured, and slain ; how its children were pillaged and despoiled of their faith ; how the Protestant Church secured to itself the continuity of Catholic dignities, position, money, buildings and land ; and finally, how for reasons well known and easy to be told, the means to restore the beauty of holiness, religion, faith and worship are lacking to the financially poverty-stricken Catholic Church in England. Such an appeal to Christendom could not fail to secure its reward. A response would be made with the dollars of the American peoples, North and South of the equator ; with the pence of the pious and generous sons of St. Patrick, who have no quarrel with the English Catholic Church, and who do not forget the late great head of it, Cardinal Manning ; with the silver of France, Italy, and Spain, and the gold of the Austrians and Belgians ; with the contributions of the wealthier, as well as of the poorer, of the Catholic portions of our own almost boundless colonial Empire. These offerings, supplementing the donations of the remnant of the English people who remained firm to the Old Religion, or who in their thousands and tens of thousands have become obedient to the One True Church, would supply the means for building. There would, in course of time, be commenced, continued and completed a Basilica Church for London, which might be fairly compared with the most dignified and costliest and most beautiful Cathedrals of Christendom, although it be not built in the ages of faith.

Thoughts on "The Imitation of Christ."

VI.

ONE of the most interesting and curious features of *The Imitation of Christ*, one which has not been investigated hitherto, is the almost personal character of the revelations and communings found in the third Book. This seems to supply a story of mental trouble in the cloister. It may be that there is something rather morbid and exaggerated in these repinings and annoyances: and yet the fact is, that no one has more powerfully insisted on the remedies that were at hand, and the opportunities thus offered for obtaining merit. It is not difficult to follow the story. The writer's plain speaking and unsparing reproofs had excited prejudice. He had spoken with relentless severity of the shortcomings of his brethren, who had rather fallen away from their Rule, and were given up to vain theological disquisitions, to the neglect of practice. They were eager to go abroad and "gad about," given over to gossip and tale-bearing, and envious stories, and a neglect of the contemplative life. "The habit and tonsure," he says, "effect but little, but the moral change and the entire mortification of the passions make a true Religious. *He who does not strive to be the least, and subject to all, cannot long remain in peace.*" He spoke of "the lukewarmness and negligence of our state: we so soon fall away from our first state and are even now tired of life through slothfulness and tepidity." This was severe. In chapter xviii. book i. he supplies a contrast between the lives of the older Religious and that of his brethren, and inveighs against the constant attempts to escape from the convent and mix with the world. "Pray for thy sins and negligences. *Leave vain things to vain people*: look thou to those things which God hath commanded thee. . . . Stay with Him in thy cell. . . . If thou hadst never left it nor hearkened to any rumours, thou wouldst have remained longer in happy peace." "Let it seriously concern thee that thou dost not carry thyself so well and circum-

spectly as a servant of God and a devout Religious ought to do." Such plain speaking could not have been acceptable.

It is scarcely surprising, therefore, that this strain should be found unwelcome, and that many chapters are full of sad complaints and sufferings on the score chiefly of malicious tales and stories repeated against himself. This personal tone might be considered a defect in this great work: only that the treatment is large and so very human, that it becomes, as it were, general. The passage, for instance, "Now he is thought great who is not a transgressor," has an application true to all, if we but ponder over it: for it seems to present the favourite current standard of piety. We content ourselves with not absolutely breaking the commandments; this by contrast with evil-doers furnishes a sort of claim to merit. The topics from which he draws comfort show what was the nature of the persecution. In Heaven "no one shall resist thee, no one complain of thee, *no one obstruct thee*, no one stand in thy way." "Now therefore bow thyself down humbly under the hands of all. *Heed not who it was that said or commanded this*"—hints, that seem to show us the pious author struggling with himself, and frustrated, mortified, and humiliated, as he strives to effect some reforms.

The average reader who has not carefully studied the work, may naturally consider such a picture as the following to be addressed to the world at large, to himself in particular: "Sigh and grieve that thou art still so carnal and worldly, so unmortified from thy passions. So much inclined to exterior things; so negligent as to the interior. So prone to laughter and dissipation; so hard to tears and compunction. So inclined to relaxation, and to the pleasures of the flesh; so sluggish to austerity and fervour. So curious to hear news and to see sights; so remiss to embrace humiliation and abjection. So covetous to possess much; so sparing in giving, so close in retaining. So inconsiderate in talking; so little able to hold thy peace. *So disordered in thy manners; so over-eager in thy actions.* So immoderate in food; so deaf to the Word of God. So ready for repose; so slow to labour. So wakeful to hear idle tales; so drowsy at the sacred vigils. So hasty to finish thy devotions; so wandering in attention. So negligent in saying thy Office; so tepid in celebrating; so dry in communicating. So quickly distracted; so seldom fully recollected within thyself. So suddenly moved to anger; so apt to take offence at others. So

prone to judge; so severe in reprehending. *So joyful in prosperity; so weak in adversity.* So often proposing many good things; and bringing so little to effect." This, however, was apparently intended as a picture of the community. And here arises the question, Was this in the nature of a private record, as a sort of ease for his feelings: or did he formally lay it before his brethren? In any case, it is a finely outlined sketch, not of the sinner, but of a worldly-minded being. The touchings are masterly.

We can regularly trace the beginning and progress of the trouble. In the first seven chapters of Book iii. the author laments his spiritual difficulties, the failing of his fervour, and he is full of gratitude. "O pleasant and delightful service of God," he exclaims; "O sacred state of religious servitude." But in chapter xii. he begins: "O Lord, *patience* is very necessary for me, . . . for in whatsoever way I may arrange for my peace, my life cannot be without war and sorrow." He is told to "turn away from his own will. He who striveth to withdraw himself from obedience withdraweth himself from grace: and he that seeketh particular privileges loseth such as are in common. . . . Learn then to submit thyself readily to thy Superior," &c.

In chapter xix. he is told, "Do not say, I cannot endure these things from such a man, . . . for he hath done me a great injury, and he upbraideth me with things I never thought of." Still his complaints go on, and he seems to relapse. Then is he bidden to be "not curious, for what is it to him whether each man be such or such, or whether this man speak this or that. . . . Be not solicitous for the shadow of a great name, nor for acquaintance with many, nor for the particular love of individuals." Weaknesses of which he seems to be conscious.

It would almost appear that he was keeping a sort of spiritual diary, setting down day by day the fluctuations of his feelings—now advancing, now going back, now full of hope, now of despondency. And here may be noted the curiously complex character of the record, for while he formally reproves certain weaknesses in others, it is clear that he himself was equally an offender. He makes therefore his own particular lapses general, and preaches to himself as well as to others. This mixture gives a reality as well as an originality to the whole.

In a prayer which constitutes the seventeenth chapter, he begs that he may "prudently avoid him that flattereth, and patiently bear with him that contradicteth." He is told in return not to heed "flying words, to be silent in evil time: not to be eager to please, or fear to displease men." And so he shall have peace. All, however, is unavailing, for in the next chapter we find him again sunk in despondency, as "a great tribulation has come upon me." The stages are indeed almost dramatic, and it would be well worth tracing them day by day.

In the twenty-eighth chapter we find him beginning to pour out his grief. He is told to "take it not to heart, if some people think ill of thee, and say of thee what thou art not willing to hear." "Whether they put a good or a bad construction on what thou doest." Thomas then answers that he is "now in tribulation," and that he "is much afflicted with his present suffering." "Give me patience, O Lord, even at this time. . . . It behoves me to bear it till the storm pass over."

Amid many topics of comfort and wholesome counsels offered, there is this significant one: "I would that . . . thou wert no longer a lover of thyself, but didst simply wait my bidding, and his whom I have appointed father over thee." Later he is told, "What can any one do against thee by words and injuries"—*i.e.*, calumnies. "He rather hurts himself than thee. . . . Do not contend with querulous words, . . . so that if at present thou seemest to be overcome, and to suffer a confusion thou hast not deserved, . . . do not lessen thy crown by impatience." He is to "take it not to heart if he sees others honoured and advanced, and himself despised and debased." Still he is constrained to admit, "If I look well into myself, never was any injury done me by any creature."

But in his forty-fifth chapter we have a more precise account of his troubles; and a most curious picture it is. He is in a dreadful state of affliction. He bewails what he suffers from "human fear," and how "the arrows of men's words move him." "Why have I not better provided for my wretched self?" It seems that something was told to him which led him into trouble. "How wisely didst thou forewarn us to take heed of men, in that a man's enemies are those of his own household; and that we are not to believe if any one should say, Behold here, or behold there. *I have been taught to my cost, and I wish it may serve to make me more cautious, and not increase my folly.*" The incident itself seems, after all, rather trivial. "Be wary,"

said someone to him, "keep to thyself what I tell thee. And while I keep silence, and believe the matter to be secret, he himself cannot keep the secret, but betrayeth both himself and me, and goeth his way. From such foolish speech, and such unwary people, defend me, O Lord." His mystery, or silence, on what was now no silence, had brought him disgrace. It must have been a very serious business, for he introduces it with prayers. "Grant me help, O Lord, in my tribulation, for vain is the help of man. How often have I not found faithlessness when I thought I might depend upon it," &c.

One might have thought that this querulousness would have been treated by one of his own admirable recipes, for, as he often says, it is occasions of this kind that prove a man. That one should confide to the public what he had pledged us to keep secret, is indeed evidence of a frivolous character, but such a proceeding usually excites contempt—not certainly indignation. But as I said, our writer, from adhering to his secrecy, had probably compromised himself in some way. It is clear that Thomas, gifted as he was, and superior to his brethren, was disinclined to be directed by inferior and stupid beings.

Later he again bewails his case. "It is good for me that Thou hast humbled me. . . . It is profitable for me that shame has covered my face, . . . sending disgrace both within and without." In the fifty-second chapter he has arrived at a deep penitence, possibly for his insubordination and groanings. "My mouth can only utter this word, I have sinned. . . . I am worthy of all scorn and contempt." Then he confesses: "I have received from Thy hand the cross. I will bear it. . . . We have begun, we may not go back, nor may we leave off. Take courage, brethren, let us go forward together. . . . For the sake of Jesus we have taken up this cross, for Jesus' sake let us persevere in it."

In the next chapter more light is thrown on the rather trivial character of the disturbance. "Why art thou afflicted at a little matter said against thee? . . . *Thou canst also give good advice*, but when any unexpected trouble cometh at thy own door, then thy counsel and thy courage fail thee." This inconsistency, so manfully confessed, is what gives the extraordinary value to the work. It may be doubted if anywhere else is revealed so candidly this natural weakness of human nature. In all books that profess to teach, the teacher is careful to keep such contradictions out of sight. Our author was clearly a

sensitive person, and quick to resent, as we can gather from the advice he puts into the mouth of our Saviour. "Though thou be reluctant to bear it, and feelest indignation, yet repress thyself, and suffer no *inordinate word* to come out of thy mouth."¹

It may be said that the whole of Book iii. is thus intended as a picture of Thomas à Kempis' struggles to accommodate himself, to break his soul, to the discipline of his community. At times, and for a few moments, he becomes general, and applies his counsels to Christians at large; but presently the sense of his own battle overpowers him, and he reverts to the personal. This is the key of the whole and makes it really intelligible. All *real* books are thus founded on personal feeling and experience. Thomas found that he could write best, and with the most pointed application, out of his own heart. I have already alluded to an interesting speculation that arises as to what was the original form and purpose of this third Book. Being of so delicate and private a nature, could it have been written as a treatise for general perusal? Could it have been intended for the perusal of his brethren? It might almost seem that it was meant to be in the nature of "Confessions," like that of St. Augustine, and that they were composed for himself, or as a legacy for his companions, to show through what he had passed. But it is clear, I think, that the popular notion of its being merely a portion of the treatise called *The Following of Christ*, is quite an erroneous one; and it almost proves that the Book was compounded of a number of short treatises found in his desk. Further, this may be said. Though few books are more read than the *Imitation*, it is read in a highly superficial fashion, chiefly, I believe, from its being "opened anywhere" and stray passages selected for perusal. I am certain that almost every reader has fancied that the episode we have been considering referred to the "generic sinner," and was cast in a sort of metaphorical strain.

The most wonderful thing in this wonderful book is that we can find in it almost everything. It is as though the whole *curriculum* of piety were there. There are principles, maxims, methods, practices, and discipline. If we look for any special

¹ There is a passage describing "a certain person," who wished to know that he would persevere, and which is always assumed to apply to the author. I am inclined to doubt this for many reasons, particularly as he has no reticence about his feelings. Further, he uses the same description in another passage which cannot apply to himself, "a certain person by loving me learned things Divine, and spoke wonders."

point, we are almost certain to find something on the topic. It is like one of the text-books on the sciences, and the whole scheme is set forth as by a professor. The more emotional, too, will find plenty to suit them in the shape of prayers and compunctious visitings. The prayers are "led up to" in an almost dramatic way, introduced at the close of some telling, most effective meditations. But it is a work that requires to be deeply *studied*; mere superficial reading will leave the impression that it is rather a maze without plan, a heterogeneous mass of pious statements, and "odds and ends." It is best appreciated—on this account perhaps—by the thoughtful and studious. In this view the *Imitation* might be considered the Blackstone of our Catholic constitution. It is the handbook of religious law, right, and obligation. As we ponder over these verities, we feel more and more what a huge and tremendous thing salvation is, how little *sentiment* should enter into it, what a thorough "business" it is. And we must think with doubt and alarm of even those light-hearted, "go-as-you-please" amateurs, who never *think at all* about the matter, and who believe they are doing much if they do not break the Commandments: or, as the author puts it happily: "Now he is thought great who is not a transgressor."

There are devout admirers of the work who, in a difficulty, have recourse to casting the *sortes Kempenses*, opening a page at random, and seeing what light a third, fourth, or fifth verse will bring. This pious device can hardly fail. In the *Life* of the interesting and saintly Miss Kerr, we find her affectionate father, who was agitated at the thought of parting with his child when she proposed adopting a religious life, having recourse to this simple method of devotion.

Apart from their practical view, passages almost of inspiration are scattered through the book, being full of a noble eloquence and even passion. Such, for instance, is that fine outburst, in chapter xiv. of the third Book, where the author, carried away by a full sense of the Almighty's power and of his own nothingness, breaks into an ennobling and picturesque strain. Yet there is no mere pious rapture here, it is all the sternest realism: "Thou thunderest forth over my head Thy judgments, O Lord, and Thou shakest all my bones with fear and trembling, and my soul is terrified exceedingly. I stand astonished, and consider that the heavens are not pure in Thy sight. If in the angels Thou hast found depravity, and hast not spared them,

what will become of me? Stars have fallen from heaven; and I, dust as I am, how can I presume? They whose works seemed praiseworthy have fallen to the very lowest; and those that did eat the Bread of Angels I have seen delighted with the husks of swine. There is, then, no sanctity, if Thou, O Lord, withdraw Thy hand. No wisdom avails, if Thou cease to govern us. No strength is of any help, if Thou cease to preserve us. No chastity is secure without Thy protection. No self-custody profits us, if Thy holy vigilance be not nigh unto us. For, left to ourselves, we sink and perish; but by Thee visited, we are raised up and live. *O weight immense! O sea that cannot be passed over, where I find nothing of myself but only and wholly nothing!* Where, then, is there any lurking-place for glorying? where any confidence conceived of my own virtue? All vainglory is swallowed up in the depth of Thy judgments over me. What is all flesh in Thy sight? Shall the clay glory against Him that formed it? How can he be puffed up with vain talk, whose heart is subjected to God in truth? Neither will he be moved with the tongues of all that praise him, who hath settled his whole hope in God. For even they who speak, behold, they are all nothing, for they shall pass away with the sound of their words: but the truth of the Lord remaineth for ever." What truth and philosophy and good sense! and what poetry too! What a pious euthanasia!

No metaphysician could have put it more accurately. Nothing earthly really *is*: it is as we think it, or suppose it. At the end it will be like the man who fancied he was saving his precious treasures from a fire, and found in his hands a heap of stones or cinders, which he had perilled his life to carry off.

Another enthusiastic passage on suffering and contradiction is surely quite as dramatic: "Why standest thou looking about thee here, since this is not the place of thy rest? All things pass away, and thou too along with them. See thou cleave not to them, lest thou be ensnared, and perish. If thou knowest not how to meditate on high and heavenly things, rest in the Passion of Christ, and love to dwell in His sacred wounds. Christ was willing to suffer and to be despised, *and darest thou complain of aught?* Christ had enemies and detractors, and wouldst thou have all to be thy friends and benefactors? How shall thy patience be crowned, if thou meet with no adversity? If thou wilt suffer no contradiction, how *canst thou be a friend of Christ?* Endure with Christ, and for

Christ, if thou wouldst reign with Christ." It will be noted how logically this conclusion is introduced.

Yet another fine burst, that really surprises us, is founded on the familiar "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life," which seems to have something almost metaphorical from its very familiarity: "Without the Way, there is no going; without the Truth, there is no knowing; without the Life, there is no living. I am the Way which thou must follow; the Truth which thou must believe; the Life which thou must hope for. I am the Way inviolable, the Truth infallible, the Life interminable. If thou abide in My Way, thou shalt know the Truth, and the Truth shall make thee free, and thou shalt attain to life everlasting. If thou wilt enter into Life, keep the Commandments. If thou wilt know the Truth, believe Me; if thou wilt be perfect, sell all. If thou wilt be My disciple, deny thyself. If thou wilt possess a blessed life, despise this present life. If thou wilt be exalted in Heaven, humble thyself in this world. If thou wilt reign with Me, bear the Cross with Me."

The following is a touch of mysticism, or metaphysical distinction, which is yet intelligible enough and practical: "And what does it concern us about questions of philosophy? He to whom the Eternal Word speaketh is delivered from a multitude of opinions. From the One Word are all things. Without Him no man understandeth or judgeth rightly. He to whom all things are one, who referreth all things to one, and seeth all things in one, may be steadfast in heart, and abide in God at peace. O Truth! my God! make me one with Thee in everlasting charity."

This simple sense of the great "oneness" or singleness is the note of all that is spiritual; what is earthy and material is multiple, and crowded with detail. The potency of great writers, such as Shakespeare, is found in this large oneness, which yet covers all details. The earth is entirely all "things," but appreciation is always as single as an act.

And this leads on to a sentiment often felt, often thought of, but never expressed with such telling force and picturesqueness. I have quoted it before, but it will bear repeating:

"For a long time shall he be little, and lie grovelling beneath, who esteems anything great but only the one immense Eternal God. *And whatsoever is not God is nothing, and ought to be accounted as nothing.*"

We shall have by-and-bye one supreme, extra-critical

moment, when the logic of this shall flash upon us with the dazzling vividness of a Belshazzar's feast. At the moment of death we shall see its truth, and with amazement at our stupidity at not having seen it before—"All that is not God is nothing," and that this "beautiful earth," as we think it, is nothing but what it is—a great "rag-and-bone" shop!

The origin of all failings he traces to "inconstancy of mind, and little confidence in God." The man who is careless, and "giveth up in resolution," is tempted in many ways. And he adds: "Fire trieth iron, and temptation a just man. We often know not what we can do, but temptation discovereth what we are." (Here, by the way, occurs one of the two or three quotations from profane authors found in the book *principiis obsta*, which is oddly introduced by "some one has said.") The precariousness of a "state of feeling" is pointed out: "Trust not to thy *feeling*: whatever it may be now, it will be quickly *changed into something else*." How pointed and pithy is this. It is as who would say: "*Because* you have this feeling or humour, pious or otherwise, it is certain to be changed into something else." And the remedy: "He that is wise, stands above all these changes, not minding what he feels in himself, nor on what side the wind of instability bloweth."

Our author dwells particularly on what might seem a trivial matter, but which has yet a deep importance, viz., the cultivation of seriousness as a tone of mind, and the avoidance of a general jocularity on all topics. This sort of unmeaning mirth in "finding of fun" in most things, is not in any way censurable; but it tends to produce a frivolous method of viewing curious things. He reminds us of the tremendous issues that are before us, and the heavy weight of sin and neglect, and which has to be borne through life, and which should banish such levities. So Dr. Johnson, when some clergymen were joking in this fashion, said to his neighbour: "Sir, this merriment of parsons is highly offensive." Our author is profuse in his warnings on this head. "Be not *too free*," he says, "if thou wouldst make any progress, . . . and give not thyself up to *foolish mirth*. . . . It is wonderful that any man can ever abandon himself wholly to joy in this life, when he considereth and weigheth his exile and the many dangers of his soul." Then he supplies a reason: "Through levity of heart we feel not the sorrows of the soul, and we often vainly laugh when in good reason we should weep."

And how true is this: "The place avails little if the spirit of

fervour be wanting ; neither shall that peace stand long, if it be sought from without, and if the state of the heart want the true foundation, that is, if thou stand not in *me*: *thou mayest change, but shalt not better thyself.*" It would be easy to apply this significant, pointed utterance.

The foundation of all his teaching is this : " In every action and external occupation, be *inwardly free*, master of thyself ; that all things be under thee, and not thou under them." Those who enjoy this freedom, "*stand above things present*"—a forcible phrase—"and contemplate the eternal ; with the left eye regard things passing, and with the right those of Heaven," and thus seek the end "for which they were ordained by God, and appointed by *that Sovereign Artist*, who has left nothing disordered in His whole creation." "Sovereign Artist" is good ; but indeed all his phrases are picturesque and convincing. "Where art thou," he asks, "when thou art not present to thyself?"

He prays that he may "never let the mind slacken from attending to Heaven, and, amid many cares, to pass on as it were without care, not *after the manner of an indolent person*, but by a certain prerogative of a free mind." A happy touch ; for this indifference to things may be too often a languor, and should be an actual exertion. The book abounds in such fine distinctions.

He is fond of using the expressive phrase—this or that "shall not *stand*." "All self-seekers," that is, even the pious and self-lovers, "are bound in fetters, . . . ever unsettled, seeking always their own ease"—*i.e.*, what suits them—"not the things of Jesus Christ, *but oftentimes devising and framing that which shall not stand.*" This is one of his grand principles. We are, as it were, points in the circumference of a circle, whereof God is the centre. Every act should be a line to that centre, and thence come back to the circumference where it touches another point, our neighbour, or oneself, again. In delusive piety the act travels along the circumference to the adjoining point without touching the centre. "All shall perish," he goes on, "that cometh not of God." Hold fast this short and perfect word. "Forsake all, and thou shalt find all ; relinquish desire, and thou shalt find rest." No wonder he declares that this is not the work of one day *or children's sport*, but is, as he summarily styles it, "all the perfection of Religious." If it should seem, as naturally it will, too Utopian or impracticable

for ordinary persons, we should at least be "*drawn the more onward towards its lofty heights, or at least aspire ardently for its attainment.*" It is something to *know* what should be done.

The objection that these counsels belong to the ways of perfection, and are above the common strength, he adroitly takes care to meet. The attempt should be made. "Let us try as much as we can, we shall still unavoidably fail in many things." We should always have "some *certain* resolution, especially against the things that are our greatest hindrances"—for instance, if a Religious cannot be constantly "recollected," "at all events let him be so sometimes."

We cannot sufficiently admire the quaint turns of his thoughts, which lend to his utterances a force and grace, not without some irony too. "All is little and short, which passeth away with time. *Mind what thou art about.* . . . I will be thy reward. Write, read, sing, lament, keep silence, pray, bear adversities manfully: life is worth all these, and greater combats. *It is no small matter to lose or gain the Kingdom of Heaven.*"

Enjoyment of eating and drinking is often thought to be a neutral matter covered by the amiable phrase "a hearty appetite." Yet there is wisdom in this: "Bridle gluttony, and thou wilt the easier bridle every inclination of the flesh."

In another place he says: "Woe to them that inquire of men after many curious things, and are little curious of the way to serve Me. The time will come, when Christ, the Master of masters, the Lord of angels, shall appear *to hear the lessons of all men*, that is, to examine the conscience of every one." The delusion, in short, is that to *do* good things is sufficient; whereas the whole value depends on the spirit in which they are done.

In one short sentence we often find a suggestion that "gives us pause," and contains a tremendous truth. Witness this: "*He that has My words, and slights them, has that which shall condemn him at the last day.*"

This seems addressed to all pious *amateurs*, to the talkers, and feelers, and sentimentalists, who are no *doers*. But, indeed, it fits us all—"who have My words"—in some shape, and do not translate them into practice. If we were to summarize in a single sentence the essence of true piety, or the *art* of salvation, I think it would amount to what is really the entire thesis of the third Book, varied in innumerable forms: "*Thou canst not both attend to Me, and at the same time delight thyself in transitory things.*" Practice as well as theory, personal intro-

spection and experience, convince us of its truth, veil it as we will. We should at the least *recognize* the truth of it.

Here is a fine recipe for dealing with our neighbours—and how simple too: "If thou hast any good in thee, do not, as the world has it, claim a just precedence, but "*believe still better things of others.*" The common logic is here put aside—as you are superior, so others are likely to be inferior; instead of the expected, "As you are first-rate, so you must be better than others," it should run: "Others are likely to be better than thou."

And he adds: "Thou wilt soon be deceived, if thou regard only the external appearance of men. Indeed, if thou seek in others thy comfort and thy profit, thou wilt more often meet with loss. If in all things thou seekest Jesus, truly thou shalt find Jesus; but if thou seek thyself, thou shalt find thyself also, but to thy own ruin."

His "turns" are often epigrammatic—we see abundant failings in others. We might turn our eyes away, or not note them, lament them, or think charitably of them. We should "study especially to guard against, and to get the better of such things as," those we chiefly fail in?—but no—of such as "*oftenest displease thee in others.*" That is, their fault becomes yours—if they do not reform it, you may at least do so in your own case, and thus the service of God is still carried on. Connected with which is the following, "As thine eye observeth others, so again thou art also observed by others." Further on he says: "Never think thou hast thyself made any progress *until thou feel thou art inferior to all.*"

It would be an interesting thing—perhaps a bizarre thing too—to trace out how the rules of worldly policy, even the general code of morality, are ever opposed to those of piety. Thus we read, "All our peace in this miserable life must be placed rather in humble endurance than in absence of contradiction." That is to say, the popular idea is that absence of troubles, annoyances, and sorrows, will secure peace; whereas by this holy paradox real peace can only be secured by actual encounter of such things, and letting them pass us "as the idle wind." "Think not, therefore, that thou hast found true peace, if thou feel no burden; nor that then all is well, if thou have no adversary; nor that thou hast attained to perfection, if all things be done according to thy inclination." And again: "He is ready to help them that fight, trusting in His grace; and

He, Himself, *provideth us with occasions to fight*, in order that we may overcome." And how suggestive is the following: "With good reason oughtest thou to suffer a little for Christ, since many suffer greater things for the world." It would be difficult to dispose of this plea. And again: "If there had been anything better and more beneficial to man's salvation than suffering, *Christ certainly would have shown it by word and example.*" This is novel and striking and well worth pondering over. Again: "Thou oughtest then to call to mind the heavy sufferings of others, and thus thou mayest the easier bear the very little things thou sufferest." Three admirable illustrations or arguments.

"Sweet," says our Shakespeare, "are the uses of adversity," which he so exquisitely likens to the toad, "ugly and venomous," with yet a jewel in its head." This jewel is thus indicated: "Fire, trials, crosses, and temptation prove a just man. We often know not what we can do, but temptation discovereth what we are. *Occasions do not make a man frail, but they show what he is.*"

The prevailing cogent logic too of the author is shown in these truly sensible conversations. Nothing could be put more pithily; it is here "in a nut-shell:" "*Learn to suffer in little things now*, that then thou mayest be delivered from more grievous sufferings. *Try first here what thou canst bear hereafter.*"

This method of comparison is ever profitable, even in the ordinary concerns of life. When we are fretted by slight annoyances, we should think how we can bear the terrible things that afflict our neighbours.

There are various ways and fashions of "saying" the Holy Mass. Some linger, slowly and laboriously, over its rites and ceremonies; others hurry through it "post haste." How sagaciously the author suggests the true *juste milieu*: "Be neither too slow nor too quick in celebrating; but observe"—not personal humour or fancy, but—"the good common medium of those with whom thou livest." That is, if they are busy working-folks, be brisk and energetic; if they are not over-zealous and come but rarely, make the sacrifice inviting, by a certain promptness and animation, so that they shall not be repelled. "Thou oughtest not to *beget* tedium or weariness in others, but *keep the common way.*" In short, here is the golden rule—"Rather accommodate thyself to the utility of others than follow thine own devotion and affection." This

precept almost gives us a higher opinion of the good sense and wisdom of the author than anything else.

He does not content himself—as pious writers sometimes do—with dwelling on weaknesses and failings, but always goes on to point out a remedy, a particular course. "Oh, how great is human frailty which is ever prone to vice! To-day thou confessest thy sins, and to-morrow thou again committest what thou didst confess; now thou preparest to be on thy guard, and an hour after thou art acting as if thou hadst made no resolution." To find a remedy he goes to the very root of the matter—not to fresh resolutions, or new efforts and exertions of strength: but to the admission that we have no strength and no resolution! For we must "*humble* ourselves, and never think anything great of ourselves." Having made this discovery, and being convinced of this, we may set to work again. Excellent and admirable no doubt are the regular "good-doers," committee folk, cheque drawers, and the like. Yet such will find little harm in giving a few moments' meditation to the following, and in applying the text indicated. The popular notion is that such things are convincing evidences of piety. But hear our Thomas on the point. "Do they not," he asks, "prove themselves to be rather lovers of themselves, than of Christ, who are always thinking of their own advantage and gain?" This he explains: "Many secretly seek themselves in what they do, and are not aware of it. They seem also to continue in good peace so long as things are done according to their will and judgment; but if aught happens otherwise than they desire, they are soon disturbed and become sad." The slight ironical flavour here will be noted, as well as the almost sarcastic description of the "mood" of the person "disturbed and become sad," that is, "put out" as it is called, or even "ill-humoured."

There have been many meditations on death. Our author, instead of the more conventional topics, touches on what is most likely to affect the careless and unthinking. "If thou hadst a good conscience, thou wouldst not fear death. . . . If thou art not prepared to-day, how wilt thou be to-morrow? . . . Of what use is it to live long when we advance so little. . . . *Would that even for one day we had behaved ourselves well in this world!* . . . When thou art sick, I know not what thou wilt be able to do. *Few* are improved by sickness."

"Now, who will be solicitous for thee hereafter? The time

will come when thou wilt fain implore one day or even one hour for amendment, and *I know not if thou wilt obtain it.*"

"Ah, fool! why thinkest thou to live long when thou art not sure of one day?" The most practical of these counsels is, if we see another die, to make profit of the spectacle. It is really the next thing to our own death, a "rehearsal" as it were. It might be our own, it must be and will be our own. Yet the fashion is to shun such spectacles, to cover up the subject: only to make the shock and surprise greater.

"Trust not in thy friends and neighbours (*i.e.*, for prayers for the dead), for men will forget thee sooner than thou thinkest, . . . if thou art not solicitous for thyself.

He has one fine, eloquent passage on this subject of death, which I am tempted to give here in one of the old English versions. The grand "ring" of the diction is worthy of the original.

"Tell me now, where are the lords and masters that thou knewest sometime, while they lived and flourished in the schools. Now other men have their prebends, and I wot not whether they once think upon them. In their lives somewhat they appeared: and now of them speaketh almost no man. O Lord, how soon passeth the glory of this world! Would God that their life had been according to their cunning, for then had they well studied and well read. How many be there that perisheth in this world by vain cunning, that little recketh of the service of God! And for they chose rather to be great than meek, they vanished away in their own thoughts."

Volumes have been written on the subject of "Bearing our Cross," but it may be doubted if anything more practical, picturesquely eloquent, or more convincing has been furnished than what is found in the twelfth chapter of Book iii. This of course is the direct fruit of the imitation of our Lord.

"To many this seemeth a hard saying: 'Deny thyself, take up thy cross and follow Jesus.' But it will be much harder to hear that last word: 'Depart from Me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire.' Why, then, art thou afraid to take up thy cross, which leadeth to the Kingdom? If thou fling away one cross, without doubt thou wilt find another, and perhaps a heavier. Dost thou think to escape that which no mortal ever could avoid? For even our Lord Jesus Christ Himself was not for one hour of His Life without the anguish of His Passion. Take up, therefore, thy cross, and follow Jesus, and thou shalt go into

life everlasting. Go where thou wilt, seek what thou wilt, thou shalt not find a higher way above, nor a safer way below, than the way of the Holy Cross. Dispose and order all things according as thou wilt, and as seemeth best to thee ; and thou wilt still find something to suffer, either willingly or unwillingly ; and so thou shalt always find the Cross. Prepare thyself to suffer many adversities and divers evils in this miserable life ; for so it will be with thee, wherever thou art, and so indeed wilt thou find it, wheresoever thou hide thyself. It must be so, and there is no remedy against tribulation and sorrow, but to bear them patiently. Drink of the chalice of thy Lord lovingly, if thou desirest to be His friend, and to have part with Him. No man is fit to comprehend heavenly things who hath not resigned himself to suffer adversities for Christ."

He notices how seldom we weigh our neighbour in the same balance as ourselves. And then comes this striking argument : *If all were perfect, what then should we have to bear from others for the love of God ?*

"Whatsoever thou reposest in men, out of Jesus, thou wilt find to be well-nigh lost. Trust not, nor lean upon a reed full of wind. . . . He that clingeth to the creature shall fall with the creature. . . . Sooner or later, thou must be separated from all, whether thou wilt or no."

"Neither canst thou be delivered or eased by any remedy or comfort ; for as long as it shall please God, thou must bear it. The Cross, therefore, is always ready, and everywhere awaiteth thee. Turn thyself upward, or turn thyself downward ; turn thyself inward, or turn thyself outward ; everywhere thou shalt find the Cross. If thou carry the Cross willingly, *it will carry thee*, and bring thee to thy desired end, namely, to that place where there will be an end of suffering, though here there will be no end. If thou carry it unwillingly, thou makest it a burden to thee, and loadest thyself the more, and nevertheless thou must bear it."

PERCY FITZGERALD.

Rebecca and Henry VIII.

AT this time, when the Disestablishment of the Welsh Church is one of the absorbing topics of the day, it may be worth while to look back just half a century to the time when popular feeling on this point first found expression.

In 1843 a Royal Commission was sent into Wales to inquire into the causes of the discontent which led to the outbreak known as the "Rebecca" Riots. As most people know, the chief ostensible causes were the frequency of the turnpike-gates ; the exorbitant toll demanded at some of them—for every trust and almost every gate had its own (sometimes unprinted) law ; and especially the corruption which prevailed in the management of the affairs of the trusts—which resulted in the farmers having to repair the roads and to pay for the use of them, a state of things calculated to try the patience of the most long-suffering of men. To add to this, a succession of wet summers had caused scanty and badly ripened harvests ; rates, tithes, and taxes had increased, while the price of sheep, cattle, and butter had fallen, as these prices at Cardigan market in 1842 will show : Beef, $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 4d. a lb. ; mutton and veal, 3d. to 4d. ; pork, 3d. ; geese, 15d. each ; ducks, 18d. a couple ; fowls, 12d. a couple ; butter, 7d. a lb. In consequence of all this, money was very scarce, and these perpetual cash payments hampered and irritated the farmers greatly : and not unnaturally, when one considers the statement that as much as 6s. 6d. has been paid in tolls for conveying a single load of lime from the south of Pembrokeshire, where limestone abounds, to the north of the county or to the south of Cardiganshire, which is destitute of it. As lime was then—before the days of artificial manures—greatly used to fertilize the land, this was a hardship, especially when the payment was demanded for passing over roads mended, sometimes even made, by these same farmers. Yet this was not the first grievance named in the list submitted to the Commissioners of Inquiry sitting at Carmarthen on the 7th of

November, 1843, the Right Hon. Thomas Frankland Lewis in the chair. This statement is divided into three parts, viz.: 1st, causes; 2nd, signs; 3rd, treatment.

The very first article under this first part, "causes," is as follows: "1st, causes. Bad government. Before King Henry VIII. £10 per cent. of the land consecrated to maintain the poor and religion; but at his time some of it sold and some given to relation (*sic*) and friends. And again a law made to mend the laws of King Henry VIII. in the reign of King William IV., in part for the same purpose."

"Gates" are not mentioned till the fourth article of the second part, "signs." In the third part, "treatment," again comes this ominous word, "tithe."

"2nd, tithe. It is now thrice as much as it was in 35 or 40 years ago, and has been very expensive and troublesome."

The parish to which these aggrieved persons belonged was that of Llandevilog, in Carmarthenshire. The tithe was commuted for the sum of £756 per annum, and of this the vicar received only £11 13s. 4d. This startling fact is mentioned in the list of grievances.

It is distinctly stated that tithes would not be objected to if the tithes maintained the Church and the poor; but unfortunately the tithes in Wales did neither, being almost entirely in lay hands: very frequently these lay rectors did not reside in Wales, and so the money went out of the country altogether, and to persons who took no interest either in the poor or in the edifices for the maintenance of which they were responsible. Yet this generation of Welsh Churchmen and Churchwomen has worked hard and sacrificed much to remove the stain which rested on the name of the Church of England in Wales, almost every church in the Principality has been rebuilt, and the four Cathedrals have been restored within the last forty years. Immense sums of money have been expended on these—especially on the beautiful Cathedral of St. David's—and the secularization of these buildings, monuments of the piety and of the Catholicity of our forefathers, would fill every Catholic heart with sorrow. St. David of Menevia, St. Teilo of Llandaff: no one who reads the history of these Bishops and of their successors for more than a thousand years can fail to see the connection of Rome and Wales; and Rebecca's manifesto, in its protest against Henry VIII. and his works, confirms in a measure this historic fact.

Perhaps one of the strangest incidents in this curious revolt, was the part taken by the *Times*, and the sympathy shown by that paper to the rioters. A correspondent was sent down into the heart of the disturbed district, and he gained the goodwill of the natives to such an extent as to be admitted into their most secret conferences. The first of these was held on July 20, 1843, in the romantic valley of Cwm Ivor, it was attended by between three hundred and four hundred men, "of a respectable class, as the majority of them were on horse-back," and commencing at 8 p.m. it lasted till midnight. After considerable parley the special reporter gained admittance.

Cwm Ivor is a picturesque dell hidden away in the midst of the mountains of Carmarthenshire, Llandilo being the nearest town; it was moreover remote from the high-road and only two buildings had been raised in it, a house and a chapel. Down the mountain sides and by every bridal path leading to the place the horsemen gathered, and dismounting they tethered their horses round the burial-ground, while the chief men present held their meeting in the school-room, where they appointed a chairman and passed resolutions in the usual way. The speeches were all in Welsh, but the resolutions were translated for the benefit of the special correspondent. The document was headed:

"To the conductors of the Convention appointed to be held at Cwm Ivor in the parish of Llandilo, in the county of Carmarthen, on Thursday the 20th of July, in the first year of Rebecca's exploits, A.D. 1843."

"An army of principles will penetrate where an army of soldiers cannot."

The resolutions which follow refer to tolls, tithes, Church rates, rents, the Poor Law, and "renting a neighbour's farm treacherously." The last resolution forbids the admission of persons under eighteen years of age into the council, and concludes, "Neither women nor any of the female sex shall be introduced into this selected assembly except Rebecca and Miss Cromwell." This document was signed by a number of farmers and householders.

The *Times* published a full account of a second meeting, from which it would seem that the presence of their reporter at the first meeting was not generally known.

Having heard that there was to be another meeting of the Rebeccaites at Penlan—a small village in the hills off the roadside

between Llandilofawr and Llangadock, and not far from Cwm Ivor, where they held a meeting a fortnight ago, I proceeded on Thursday (August 3) to Llandilo, determined, if possible, to be present. I there got an intelligent young Welshman, son of an inn-keeper of the town, who spoke both Welsh and English fluently, and proceeded in a gig to a roadside house, within a mile of the place. I there learnt that the meeting was to take place at a solitary farm-house, in the barn, at nine o'clock. The night was windy and stormy, with occasional heavy showers of rain, and its uninviting aspect was calculated to keep all indoors, whom business or necessity did not compel to go out.

The country around the place of meeting is the most romantic and beautiful in Carmarthenshire. On all sides are lofty hills, verdant and clothed with wood to their summits, with deep and luxuriant valleys between them. From the smallness of the farms, and they rarely exceed fifty to eighty acres, the landscape is dotted over with the white-washed cottages of the farmers, and the country, for an agricultural district, is thickly populated. My Welsh guide and I made our way about a mile along by some lanes, and then struck into a path across the fields, and in a short time arrived at the place of meeting, a solitary farm-house in a sequestered dell, not visible till within a field's distance from it. All was silent, save the rushing noise of an occasional blast of wind through the trees. The dark clouds intercepted by the hill-tops hung upon them and rolled down their sides like curling smoke. To this centre the farmers from the surrounding farm-houses kept coming by the different pathways. I addressed one or two who appeared to be leaders among them, and shortly explained my object. I was evidently viewed with caution and distrust. My young guide, who appeared known to most of them, was called on one side and questioned about me.

At length, after much whispering and consultation, one who appeared a leader amongst them, again approached me, and to him I produced one of your printed Parliamentary circulars to your reporters which I happened to have in my pocket: this served as a sufficient credential, and I was then told that I might be present at their meeting. The farmer led the way, and I followed him into the barn. In the centre was a small round table, with one small candle burning upon it throwing a feeble light upon the figures of about seventy men, all seated around on chairs and benches or on the straw, while numbers whom I could not see were lying about in every corner amongst the bundles of straw. Many of those present were evidently respectable farmers.

On my entering and seating myself on a chair, a dead silence prevailed, which continued for some minutes, and no one appeared disposed to speak. Thinking that my presence might have caused this, I briefly addressed them and told them my object in coming among them; that as your reporter I sought only to ascertain the truth and to make it known to the public, and with that simple object and

honesty of purpose I trusted myself fearlessly among them : that I did not wish nor would I name nor make any of them known, but give merely an account of what they said.

My Welsh companion was asked to repeat in Welsh what I had said, which he did, and they appeared to be more satisfied.

Having requested my interpreter to repeat to me in English as well he could, what was spoken, as the speakers went on, I now proceed to give you a report of the proceedings.

The farmer who had addressed me outside was appointed to take the chair.

A number of resolutions were then passed relative to the formation of a Farmers' Union, and the chairman announced "that the Government had sent down Commissioners to look into the way the Trustees (of the Highway Trusts) managed their accounts, and to ascertain where the fault lay and what the Trustees had done with the money."

This was received with great applause, one of the farmers remarking, "It is one of the best things that ever came into the country—to see persons well off in the world come to try to take off the grievances of the poor."

This was the Commission which came into Wales in the following October, and before whom the complaint with regard to Henry VIII. was made. Some of the farmers spoke strongly about the introduction of the rural police. Others deprecated the idea that their cause was bad because they met at night. Upwards of two hundred farmers had already given in their names to join the union.

Soon after this they dispersed. Our reporter continues :

I then scrambled my way back across the miry fields in the dark until I reached the lane. I stopped a moment to listen, but there was not a sound to indicate that nearly a hundred men were dispersing themselves in all directions within two hundred yards of me. All was darkness and silence. I reached the roadside inn in about ten minutes, and found it to be past eleven o'clock. The landlady said the dragoons from Llandilo were expected every minute to patrol past. I ask of what use in such a country, and with a people like this, are dragoons?

Let us hope that the present crisis will be passed through without either the dragoons on one side or Rebecca on the other. But it is to be feared that the original intention in the institution of tithes, clear enough to these farmers of fifty years ago, is much more cloudy in the minds of their sons and grandsons, and that the claims of religion, and the poor, and the

maintenance of sacred buildings always insisted on in all these protests of 1843, do not enter into the designs of young Wales.

In justice to "Rebecca," whose title was taken from Genesis xxiv. 60: "And they blessed Rebekah and said unto her: Thou art our sister, be thou the mother of thousands of millions, and let thy seed *possess the gate* of those which hate them," we must allow that when she had accomplished her task with regard to the tolls, she and her daughters returned quietly to their usual peaceful pursuits; very little blood was shed, hardly any property destroyed, and, in short, the Welsh peasants and farmers showed themselves, even in the midst of their revolt, to be a moderate and justice-loving people. In this also we may hope that the Welshmen of to-day will follow the example of their fathers.

Croxden Abbey.

II.

THE entries in the "Annals" for the year 1278 are: "A change of money in England. Round pence and farthings were made. The King caused all persons to become knights who possessed twenty pounds in land; and more than fifteen [here there is a blank] . . . of the whole kingdom."

In 1280 an abbey and college were founded at Oxford for the members of the Cistercian Order by Edmund, Earl of Cornwall. At the close of the same year, Archbishop Peckham made a visitation of the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield.

For the year 1283 we read: "David, brother of Llewelyn, a traitor to the King and to his own brother, was taken prisoner sixteen days before the Kalends of July, and, by a just judgment, was hanged, drawn, and quartered [September]."

Abbot de Moysham "released himself from the burden of the pastoral cure, and retired from his charge by reason of growing infirmities on the feast of St. Barnabas the Apostle [June 11, 1284]." He had ruled ably for ten years, and "completed the wall round the abbey."

John de Billesdon, "a man exceeding all in gentleness," succeeded as eighth Abbot, "on the same day that his predecessor resigned." He was a native of Billesdon, not far from Market Harborough in Leicestershire, though some authorities have incorrectly stated that the place of his birth was Bilston in Staffordshire. "This man could in truth and reality be called by the name of John [a name which is interpreted 'grace of the Lord'], upon whom the Lord bestowed so great grace, that he was greatly beloved in the eyes of all who beheld him. He abounded also in richness of corn, wine, and oil, during his lifetime."

The *obits* for the year 1286 are Humphrey de Verdun, at Paris, and Abbot de Moysham, whose resignation was recorded two years previously.

In 1287 the monks of Croxdon "for ever yielded up to their brethren of Bildewas all their townlands in Edeweney near Egmundun [Edewenny and Edgmund are in the South Bradford Hundred of Shropshire], in exchange for their grange of Caldon." This grange of Cauldon, near Cotton, which had been given to the monks of Bildewas in 1224 by Robert Franklin, was a valuable acquisition for Croxdon. In the district are most extensive limestone quarries, and a marble quarry. Cauldon Mill and other properties in the parish are reckoned as among the possessions of Croxdon Abbey in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV.

The year 1288 is memorable for the admission to his first vow of William de Schepished, and he thus minutely chronicles the event :

"The moon being in its sixteenth [lunar cycle], in the year of the solar cycle nineteen, C being the Dominical Letter, 16 being the Golden Number [and 1 the number of the Indiction] ; on the feast of the Blessed Martyrs Protus and Hyacinthus [September 11], which in that year fell on a Saturday, Brother William de Schepished received the tonsure on the first Indiction.

"At the same time, the heat was so excessive that men died from it." . . . Wheat and flour were to be had at nominal prices, "and the abundance of beans and peas was unheard-of." In this year clocks were introduced into England, and were almost immediately adopted in the monastic houses.

From the year 1288 to 1291, a general valuation of Church property was made, known as the Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV., but benefices under the value of ten marks (£6 13s. 4d.) were exempted. We find Croxdon Abbey at this period possessing lands, &c., in the Deaneries of Rutland, Stamford, Goscote, Goodlakston, and Rependon, and in the Archdeaconry of Stafford, as well as in the Hundred (*deanery* is a mistake of the compiler of this Taxation) of Scarsdale.¹

The annalist under date of 1291, which he reckons as "6490 years from the beginning of the world," deplors the fact that "our wood of Gibbe Ruyding [now known as Broad Ridding, near Alton] was burnt."

¹ One of the two peculiar franchises exercised in the county of Derby is that of the Scarsdale Hundred, in regard to the ancient office of *Coroner*. The right was originally granted by King John in 1204 to William Brewer, and is at present invested in the Duke of Devonshire, as lord of the manor of Chesterfield, and steward of the Wapentake or Hundred of Scarsdale.

For the year 1292, the entries are as follows: "John de Berwick and his compeers the Justiciaries travelled in [made the circuit of] Staffordshire, from the Monday after the Epiphany until the Sunday after the feast of St. Matthias the Apostle [February 24]. The expenses of the Abbot of this house at the same time amounted in all to £30 9s. 3d."

"King Edward exacted a fifteenth from the whole kingdom. Likewise, he exacted a sixth of all ecclesiastical and secular property belonging to the Religious, which had been granted to him by the Pope, for six years, in aid of the Holy Land."

Abbot de Billesdon built the cellary, or west wing of the abbey, called after him the "Billesdon building." After a nine years' rule, during which he had attended the General Chapter in 1286, "he departed to Christ eight days before the Ides of July [1293], and was buried in the chapter-house next to Thomas, the first Abbot, on the north side."

The chronicler de Schepished "was ordained priest at Coleshill [one of the Hundreds of North Wales, not far from Rhuddlan], by Llewellyn, Bishop of St. Asaph, four days before the Kalends of March," *i.e.*, February 26th, 1294. His brother "Thomas, Subprior of Croxden, died on the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul" (January 25), of the preceding year.

After a vacancy of almost twelve months, *viz.*, "on Trinity Sunday, which at that time happened to be the Ides of June [June 13, 1294], Richard de Twyford, a man excelling in all practices of piety and devotion, was, by the operation of the Omnipotent Undivided Trinity, elected Father of this monastery: who, as if he had been specially called by the Supreme Trinity to this office, did, for three years, faithfully fulfil, according to human judgment, those duties which belong to the pastoral cure."

In this year, "the King exacted forty shillings for each sack of wool sold for foreign trade during three years, on which account our wool could with difficulty be sold for seven marks per sack, whereupon the merchants did not purchase the wool of England." Previously, in 1275, the King obtained an export duty of 6s. 8d. on every sack of wool, as also on wool-fells, and leather sent out of England, and the Flemish merchants had scarcely any option but to buy the English wool, because very little wool or leather was to be had on the Continent.

On September 21, 1294, the King insisted on getting one half of the ecclesiastic revenues of England, but on February 24, 1296, Pope Boniface VIII. issued a Bull forbidding the clergy

to pay taxes on the revenues of their churches. We read as follows in the Annals :

"King Edward seized all the lay fiefs of the Religious and of the clergy, although they were annexed to their churches, because he had bade them to contribute a certain tallage as in former years, and they refused to accede to his orders, fearing lest they should fall under the sentence of excommunication which had been lately published by command of Pope Boniface [the Bull *Clericis laicos*] concerning this matter. But the King, wishing to bring them over to his will in another way, enacted the following statute, viz., that unless the goods which had been seized were redeemed by the ensuing Easter, they would be alienated, . . . and in this way he compelled all the prelates of England, except the Lord Archbishop [Winchelsey] to redeem their goods by paying one-fifth part of the same."

Bishop Molend of Lichfield died on December 26, 1295, and was succeeded by the munificent Walter de Langton in 1296. Abbot de Twyford was ailing during the Lent of the year 1297, and he died on Trinity Sunday. His *obit* is thus chronicled : "He was the ninth Abbot of this house, which number contains in itself three times three. Whence, we believe that he, whom so many threes mark out, was pleasing to the Supreme Three in One, and did pay special veneration to the same Trinity. For, from the time of his profession till he was elected Abbot, he was accustomed to offer, at the altar of the Holy Trinity, the Bread of Life to the same Holy Trinity." The annalist here refers, as may be gathered from the Latin context, to the prayer said by the celebrant at the Offertory of the Mass : *Suscipe, Sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem, &c.*

This saintly ruler of Croxden died "five days before the Ides of June, and he was buried beyond the pulpit, next to Abbot Walter." On the night after his burial (June 10th), "the church of Leek [dedicated to St. Edward the Confessor, and which belonged to the Cistercian Monks of Dieulacres] was burnt down, together with the whole town, by accident ;" and from another source we learn that "only the tower and some of the walls escaped from the burning."

In May, 1297, the King seized all the wool and wool-fells in the kingdom,¹ which were weighed and duly paid for by

¹ It was not until the year 1333 that the first suit of *clothes* was manufactured in England, the English up to that date being ignorant of the art of weaving, "as knowing no more what to do with their wool than the sheep that bore it." (Fuller.)

tallies." He also "forbade the Cistercian Abbots to cross the sea to the General Chapter."

John de Verdun, eldest son of Theobald, Lord of Alton, died in the year 1297 "on the Ides of June, in Ireland." After a vacancy of "seven months and six days," viz., on December 30th, William de Evera (Ever or Evera, in Buckinghamshire) was elected tenth Abbot of Croxden.

"On the feast of St. John the Baptist," 1298, Theobald de Verdun (who had returned from Ireland), "son and heir of Theobald, Lord of Alton, was knighted by King Edward, as was also Philip de Barington, his friend." On this occasion, "a sum of money was solicited from our house towards making the son of Lord Theobald a knight, but we gave nothing at all."

Roger de Schepished (brother of the annalist) resigned his office as Prior "twelve days before the Kalends of May," and was succeeded by Richard de Esseby, "five days before the Nones of July."

Under date of 1299 we read: "*There was a great downfall of rain on the feast of [the translation of] St. Swithin [July 15th], and, contrary to common opinion, a very beautiful summer ensued.*" From this entry it is evident that the people of the thirteenth century had the popular tradition regarding the state of the weather on St. Swithin's day, as likely to bring forty days' fine or wet in its train. I dwell on this fact, because a recent authority roundly asserted that the belief in the peculiar characteristic of St. Swithin's day dated only from the fifteenth or sixteenth century, and that "it rested on no more trustworthy source than a cutting from an old newspaper."

Our annalist continues: "On the day of SS. Fabian and Sebastian [January 20th, 1300], a violent wind blew from the south, and threw down a wall near Leigh [a few miles from Uttoxeter] to the length of sixty feet, and tore up by the roots, in a garden adjoining, and broke into pieces forty large fruit-trees, and a very large pear-tree; and this wind prevailed, though not with the same degree of violence, for a month and more."

The entries for the year 1300 are interesting and varied. "A son was born to King Edward by his second wife Margaret, sister of the King of France, at Brotherton, and was named Prince Thomas de Brotherton." Marguerite, sister of Philip le Bel, had been married to King Edward on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, 1299, in her eighteenth year,

and this Prince Thomas, whose birth is here chronicled at the village of Brotherton in Yorkshire, is the ancestor in right of whom the head of the noble house of Howard (ably represented at present by His Grace the Duke of Norfolk) bears the title of Earl Marshal of England.¹

"In this year, the underkeeper emptied a large pool between the *becaria* [*barcaria*=bergerie, or sheepcote] and the Abbey, and found very few fish, except five hundred eels or thereabouts.

"The timber, which is called *le Bolt*, was measured, and found to be forty feet in length; and it was removed three days afterwards.

"Also, in this year, a very numerous pilgrimage was made to Rome, because Pope Boniface granted an Indulgence, such that all who went there, *and confessed their sins duly, with humble and contrite hearts*, should be absolved from their sins and the punishment due thereunto, without any other penance."

This last entry refers to the *Jubilee* which was proclaimed by Pope Boniface VIII. for the year 1300, and during this year the number of pilgrims to Rome was estimated at about 200,000. The modern Anglican reader will do well to observe the words which I have italicized, inasmuch as they were the essential condition for obtaining this Indulgence.

In the year 1301 there is chronicled "a great earthquake, on the feast of the Blessed Mary Magdalen [July 22], about the sixth hour," and "all the inmates of the Abbey, being at their first refection, were dismayed by the sudden and unexpected trembling of the earth."

The first entry for the year 1302 is the marriage of Lord Theobald de Verdun "to Matilda, daughter of Edmund de Mortimer, Lord of Wigmore, four days before the Kalends of August." In the same year, Abbot de Ever also solemnized the marriage of "John de Twyford, son of Lord Ralph Pipard, with Margaret, daughter of Lord Philip de Barington, at Croxden, on the 2nd of the Ides of April."

During the same year, the great bell of collocation was blessed and erected in the belfry of the abbey church, "the year from the building of London by Brutus, 3642; from the building of Rome, 3300; *from the founding of the first church in London by King Lucius, 1142.*"

¹ Previously it had been successively borne by Gilbert Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, and his brother Walter Mareschal.

King Edward "exacted forty shillings from the military fiefs of England, for the purpose of marrying his eldest daughter, who was betrothed to the Earl of Hereford." This was Isabella, the sixth daughter of the King and of Queen Eleanor, who had been previously married in 1298 to the Count of Holland, and was left a widow in 1300. The annalist is careful to inform us that "at the assize which was held at Stafford concerning this exaction, John de Flemsted, the Earl of Warenne,¹ and others about thirty in number, affirmed on oath that whatever the Abbot of Croxden possessed in the county, he possessed by pure alms, and not by military fief."

The only item of local interest chronicled for the year 1303 is "the burning of our wood of Lyewood at our grange of Cheadle, sold for fifteen shillings." The monks of Croxden had a valuable grange at Cheadle, about six miles distant; and the cell which Abbot Thomas established there, for the accommodation of the *conversi*, or lay-brothers (who looked after the material interests of their spiritual brethren), is still known as *Monkhouse*. This grange, now called Cheadle Park, was a separate lordship, and had the privilege of "an ancient free-bond of seven feet wide at the extremity of a circumference of three miles, which has gone by the name of 'Monks' Coach-house Road.'" The parish church there, dedicated to St. Giles, was valued in the taxation of Pope Nicholas at £7 6s., portion of the tithes being payable to Croxden Abbey.

"From the feast of the Circumcision of our Lord, 1304, to the feast of St. Gregory the Pope" [March 12th], the weather was most severe, "but it was followed by a very dry summer." A comet was observed in 1305, but it was probably the same as the one which appeared in 1230.

Theobald de Verdun, Lord of Alton, was summoned as Baron Verdun to the Parliament of 1306, "held at Carlisle on the octave day of St. Hilary." Among the various enactments passed at this time, our annalist mentions "a statute concerning the Religious, viz., concerning their not imposing tallages on each other; concerning their not exporting articles out of the kingdom; concerning their having a common seal in each house, and leaving it in the custody of four most worthy and discreet persons belonging to the place." Here I may observe that the

¹ In the household book of Edward I. we find the following item: "To John, the organist of the Earl of Warenne, for playing before the King, twenty shillings."

prohibition of imposing taxes on each other referred to the taxation of English monasteries by the foreign parent houses.

A Cardinal Legate was present at this Parliament, as he had been sent over principally to arrange about the marriage of the Prince of Wales. "He exacted for his expenses twelve marks from each religious house and from each college; and from the churches according to their taxation, that is, from each one taxed at a fourteenth, he exacted one mark."

Edward I. died at Burgh on Sands on July 7, 1307, "and was buried with honour near his father at Westminster." During this year, Theobald de Verdun rebuilt Alton Castle.

The interest of these annals deepens from this date until the death of the worthy chronicler in 1374, a *résumé* of which I shall give as a concluding paper.

W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

Gaudenzio Ferrari.

IN the late Exhibition of Early Italian Art at the New Gallery there were two specimens of a very powerful and remarkable painter who is comparatively little known to the majority of Englishmen. Piedmont has not been prolific in great artists, although an able and vigorous school was at one time centred round Vercelli, and of her painters (if we except Bazzi, who at an early stage of his career deserted her for Siena) GAUDENZIO FERRARI is certainly the one supreme master. Gaudenzio is not represented at all in the National Gallery—which however contains a very good example of his chief pupil Lanini, a fair specimen of that very second-rate artist Gerolamo Giovenone, who has sometimes without the slightest foundation been called Ferrari's master, a work of Macrino d'Alba, from whom he probably did learn something, and a superb and famous picture by Bernardino Luini, to whom he really was indebted for a good part of his art training. This fact and also that most of his best work was done in rather out-of-the-way places have perhaps combined to render less familiar the name of this mightiest of the followers of Leonardo and Luini, himself one of the greatest artists of Northern Italy, although ample and eloquent justice has been done him of late years by Morelli, Addington Symonds, and other recent writers on Italian art.

Lomazzo, Milanese painter, verse-writer and art critic, who flourished towards the end of the sixteenth century, had studied painting under a pupil of Ferrari. In later life he became blind and, devoting himself to literature, published amongst other works a very curious book, entitled *Idea del Tempio della Pittura*. In this book he represents the art and theory of painting as an ideal temple. Just as the world is governed by seven planets, so is his temple of painting supported and ruled by seven governors, as by seven columns. These are the seven greatest masters of Italian art, regarded especially

in the light of certain attributes or characteristics: the contemplation of Michael Angelo, the majesty of Gaudenzio Ferrari, the fierce impetuosity of Polidoro da Caravaggio, the splendour and harmony of Leonardo da Vinci, the gentleness and gracious beauty of Raphael, the prudence of Andrea Mantegna, and the singular temperance of Titian. I take it that by this latter characteristic of temperance we are to understand that *moderation* which Ruskin has told us in *Modern Painters* is the "type of government by law," and that attribute of beauty which is "the girdle and safeguard of all the rest, and in this respect the most essential of all." Lomazzo tells us that Gaudenzio Ferrari wonderfully expressed this *majesty*, as his peculiar characteristic, in representing "divine things and in the mysteries of our faith."

Just as the ancients attributed to each of the planets an animal whose nature corresponds to that of the planet, so Lomazzo assigns one of these animals as symbol to each of the seven rulers of his temple: to Michael Angelo the dragon, to Gaudenzio Ferrari the eagle, for its loftiness of flight, to Caravaggio the horse, to Leonardo the lion, to Mantegna the serpent, to Titian the ox, but to Raphael man himself.

Gaudenzio Ferrari's "eagle" characteristics hardly appear in his smaller works. Of the two that were at the New Gallery the one (No. 235), the "Virgin and Child," is what Shelley might call "a piece of mere beauty:" a sweet girlish Madonnina and a rather roguish little Bambino playing with His Mother's veil. The other (216), the exquisite "Holy Family," belonging to Captain Holford, is a not unworthy specimen of the master; it is indeed one of the finest of Ferrari's easel-pictures and perhaps the best work of his north of the Alps. The three little golden-haired bright-winged cherub-boys nestling round their infant King, or gazing confidently up into the face of the Maiden Mother who kneels meekly with her arms folded across her bosom, and the two little singers chanting from their scroll in the air above—these are quite in the master's best manner. So is that living portrait of the kneeling Cardinal, with his long beard just turning grey and his noble ascetic face; a worthy type of prelate, which might no doubt have been found even in Milan that had lately boasted such unsatisfactory ecclesiastical dignitaries as Mgr. Bandello and Cardinal Ascanio Sforza. Beyond is a fair and gracious landscape of tree and hill, such

as rises beside the road which leads from Borgosesia to Ferrari's native village.

The great Florentine galleries contain nothing of Ferrari, save only a few small drawings in the Uffizi; neither is he adequately represented by his numerous works at Milan. He can only be rightly appreciated and understood when studied in his own land, that lovely chestnut-clothed valley of the Sesia, and in some of the less visited cities of Lombardy and Piedmont. There is a little village in the Val Sesia, not many miles from Varallo, but just off the main route that runs from Novara up the valley, which must be a necessary pilgrimage, a sacred spot to all who love Gaudenzio Ferrari. This is Valduggia, where the master was born, probably about 1481. The village is picturesque, but there is not much left there to tell us of Gaudenzio: a statue to him in the Piazza, a small, somewhat damaged fresco from his hand in the chief church, and a fine altar-piece by Lanini, that favourite brown-haired pupil whose portrait, along with his own, Gaudenzio has more than once introduced into his frescoes. In former times Valduggia boasted other works of her great son; in 1524, when the Val Sesia remained uninfected by the pest which ravaged other parts of Lombardy, the master had made a vow to paint the chapel of St. Roch at Valduggia. This vow he fulfilled a year or two later, but of these frescoes hardly a trace remains at the present time.

Further up the valley lies Varallo. "Who does not know Varallo?" exclaims Walter Savage Landor, and readers of Dante's *Inferno* will remember the name of Fra Dolcino, whose memories still haunt these mountains, and of whom it has pleased our English poet to make a hero. In this delightful town, surrounded by chestnut woods and pine-clad mountains, with occasional glimpses of snow-topped Monte Rosa, Ferrari settled in early manhood; here he married his first wife, and here he has left some of his grandest works. The Sacro Monte of Varallo is still a favourite resort of pilgrims from Milan and other cities. Besides its miracle-working Madonna, there are holy memories of St. Carlo Borromeo around its chapels. The pilgrims climb the hill either by the longer road from the town, which represents the path of the Saviour from Jerusalem to Calvary, or by the shorter and steeper path, representing that by which the *Mater Dolorosa* met her Divine Son on His way to death. On the summit they gaze into the chapels with their

animated groups of coloured statues, life-sized, vividly and reverently setting forth scenes from the Life and Passion of our Lord.

It is an easy matter to cast æsthetic scorn upon these figures. No doubt, as Kugler's Handbook informs us, "the bad taste of the colour and clothing make them highly repugnant to a cultivated eye." But possibly if the "cultivated eye" deign to look a little more closely into the matter, it may not find these figures altogether contemptible. When one sees the very evident impression made upon the simpler minds and imagination of the pilgrims, the conclusion to be drawn is that for once the "cultivated eye" is in the wrong; and the greatest masters in art might be justly proud if their own works have effected half as much.

Gaudenzio had completed his art education before he settled permanently in Varallo. His first training had been in the schools of Vercelli and of Milan; Morelli has shown that the manner of Bramantino had also its influence upon him; that glorious master, Bernardino Luini—some years his senior—had then initiated him into the new style, and from him Gaudenzio learned the mysteries of the Leonardesque art. The stories of his studies under Perugino and friendship with Raphael are to be regarded as apocryphal.

At the commencement of the ascent to the Sacro Monte rises the Church of the Madonna delle Grazie—in better times the church and convent of the Franciscans. It is a treasury of Ferrari's works in fresco. Along with reminiscences of Leonardo and Luini, with a trace of the earlier style, we see already the main characteristics of Ferrari himself; an intensity of devotion akin to Fra Angelico, but far more passionate—so passionate as later on to lead him far from the calm repose of the earlier art; the introduction of groups, especially of women and children, of a peculiarly strange and haunting beauty, with here and there a figure of uncompromising and marvellous realism; and, above all, a unique power of rendering angels, in which he justifies the eagle symbol given him by Lomazzo—"Angels in strong level flight," Angels watching over the Childhood of their Creator, assisting at His Baptism in the Jordan, worshipping His Virgin Mother, or sweeping in unutterable agony round Calvary, helpless to assuage the pangs of the dying Redeemer. Here, indeed, is he the eagle among painters. As painters of angels, Gaudenzio Ferrari and Luca Signorelli of

Cortona, each in his own way, stand with Fra Angelico supreme and unapproachable throughout the history of art.

There is a group in the greater series on the partition wall between church and choir that rivets attention. The executioners are preparing to lay hold of the Saviour, the Cross lies upon the ground, He kneels in silent prayer. Upon the Cross, holding its mother's hand, a lovely little child is standing just as children will run upon a plank in play. The mother looks on almost carelessly at the dreadful preparations—the child gazes far away heavenwards. Is it an allegory of innocence—innocence lost in the woman that can gaze unmoved upon the Cross, whilst the child's sight pierces into the unseen world and beholds the angel presences, even as the painter has seen them and will interpret them to us. Who can penetrate the mighty master's meaning! Gaudenzio was a true poet, and great is our loss that his poems, of which his biographers speak, have not come down to us.

Such was the piety of the man that at the very height of the Renaissance—with the cold mannerism and fleshliness of the decline already commencing around him—he consecrated his brush and pencil solely to the service of God. Twice only did he deal with non-sacred subjects. One of these pictures represented Pluto and Proserpine, which was sent to Francis I. of France, and in it Ferrari studiously avoided the nude as far as the nature of the subject would permit; the other was an allegory of envy, and both have been lost.

Varallo is indeed rich in Gaudenzio's works, both altarpieces and frescoes. His sweet slender golden-haired Madonnas of this period are unlike even Luini's, and have a peculiar charm of their own. His famous frescoes in the chapel of the Crucifixion on the Sacro Monte—the wonderfully beautiful groups of women and children, in which, says Morelli, "he might challenge a comparison with Raphael himself," the band of agonizing Angels of the Passion on the vault and pillars—these are of later date than those in the Franciscan Church, and lead on to his great works of the Vercelli period. Those in the Magi Chapel were unfinished; it is said that the painter's son was helping him in the work, and that the youth suddenly died, and in his sorrow the master left the work and removed from Varallo.

We now find Ferrari making his head-quarters at Vercelli. About the years 1532—1535, he executed the magnificent series

of frescoes for the Churches of S. Cristoforo in Vercelli and Our Lady of the Miracles at Saronno. Many of his works produced at this period have perished, but these remain and are not only his grandest works, but undoubtedly rank among the most splendid existing examples of church decoration. Those at Vercelli set forth the lives of the Madonna and of St. Mary Magdalen; in these he is supposed to have been assisted by Lanini. The latter series has suffered terribly from the bursting of Spanish and French shells in the numerous sieges to which Vercelli has been subjected; the former, damaged though they are by damp and restoration, are beyond praise.

What shall be said of the Assumption? Surely it is one of the sublimest visions ever seen by painter. We must seek its parallel in the Madonna di San Sisto of Raphael or in the apotheosis of Beatrice as Divine Wisdom in the pageant that ends the *Purgatorio*. The Mother of God, with long golden hair, clad in a white robe star-enwrought, with flowing green mantle, ascends to Heaven while a host of angioletti circle round her, some with flaming lights, others lovingly clinging to her robe:

Io sono amore angelico, che giro
L'alta letizia che spira del ventre,
Che fu albergo del nostro disiro;
E girerommi, Donna del Ciel, mentre
Che seguirai tuo Figlio, e farai dia
Più la spera suprema, perchè gli entre.¹

Never has angelical rapture been so realized, never has deep devotion on noble faces been so admirably rendered as on the Apostles in this unapproachable masterpiece. Above, the Eternal Father attended by two gloriously beautiful angels prepares to crown the Queen of Heaven. There is a truly Dantesque air about this picture. Like these angels were those hundred ministers and messengers of life eternal who rose up upon the chariot of the Bride, scattering flowers over the glorified Beatrice, and crying aloud,

Manibus o date lilia plenis.

In these same years, during which Vercelli was his headquarters, Ferrari executed his incomparable work for Our Lady of the Miracles at Saronno, that same church which contains Luini's masterpieces. Here Gaudenzio has covered the interior

¹ *Paradiso*, xxiii. 103-108.

of the cupola with one vast fresco—the glory of the Angelic host.

We shall find there
Silence and sudden dimness and deep prayer,
And faces of crowned angels all about.

We raise our eyes and all the vault seems trembling with the rhythmic beating of innumerable wings, gleaming with the massive wealth of golden hair of countless birds of God; we feel the waving of their raiment, the motion of their plumage, and know in silent thought what melody those instruments of music are sounding in the praises of the Godhead, even as Dante in his ascent with Beatrice to the first Heaven heard already the sweet harmonious music of the spheres.

This, together with the Assumption of Mary at Vercelli, must rank as Ferrari's masterpieces.

It was during his stay at Vercelli that the master married his second wife, Maria Foppa, of the kindred of Vincenzo Foppa, who painted that Adoration of the Kings in the Lombard room of the National Gallery. Towards the close of his life Gaudenzio settled at Milan, perhaps driven from Vercelli by the advance of the French army. Now comes a change in the character of his art; the evil influence of the Michael Angelo manner fell upon him. In spite of tradition Gaudenzio had probably never been to Rome, and could only have known the works of Michael Angelo by means of drawings, copies, and engravings. The works executed in this Milanese period have lost much of his earlier charm; the colouring is less brilliant, he becomes mannered, violent, unattractive. He seems to have had as assistant a certain Battista della Cerva, to whose hand the less pleasing parts of the works of this time may be due. Typical of this period is that impressive but violent picture of the martyrdom of St. Catharine in the Brera; the St. Paul in the Louvre; those powerful but decidedly unattractive frescoes of the Passion in S. Maria delle Grazie at Milan, and numerous other works in the churches of Milan and the neighbourhood. It would seem that the only works of Ferrari with which Vasari was acquainted were those of his Milanese period, though he mentions that Ferrari also executed works at Vercelli and at Varallo *molto stimate*.

We need not linger over these works, nor over the other pictures left us by the painter in other periods of his career—his altar-pieces at Arona, Novara, Como, and other towns in the

Lake district, his splendid St. Peter in the gallery of Turin. Before parting with Gaudenzio we will return to his beloved Val Sesia. A few miles from Varallo, in the little hamlet of Quarona, there lived a holy peasant maid, the victim to the hatred of a cruel step-mother. The story of this Beata Panacea has furnished materials for the pen of Silvio Pellico ; the local cult of her memory has been sanctioned by the Church, and the good women of the village gladly show with reverent pride the humble dwelling which she inhabited. In the parish church we may take leave of Gaudenzio Ferrari, for here is one of the loveliest of his smaller works—a golden-haired pensive Madonna, "Mary kept all these words pondering them in her heart," the Divine Child solemnly raising His hand to bless, and two angels floating in the air holding a crown over the head of their Queen. It is in such spots, with such surroundings and associations, that the true spell, the real power of Catholic art is felt. Then it is—though in a rather different sense—that we understand what Virgil meant when he said to Dante that art, when it faithfully follows nature, is in a way the grandchild of God :

L'arte vostra quella, quanto potete,
Segue, come il maestro fa il discente ;
Sì che vostr' arte a Dio quasi è nipote.

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

Reviews.

I.—MORAL PHILOSOPHY.¹

A DETAILED account of the first edition of Father Cathrein's *Moral Philosophy* was given to the readers of THE MONTH in April, 1891, and April, 1892, the first notice referring to the general principles of morality and right contained in vol. i., and the second dealing with the applications made of these principles, and the conclusions drawn from them in vol. ii. In the latter review we thus summed up the impressions we got by reading these two books: "The longer we peruse this work, the better we like it, and we feel sure that every reader interested in the subject will find it from beginning to end pleasant and interesting."

This estimate does not seem to be far different from the appreciation which our author's complete and systematic exposition of ethics and natural law has found elsewhere; for the second edition of the work now before us followed its predecessor in less than two years. Comparing the two editions, it is gratifying to perceive that the author's success has not blinded him to the imperfections of his production. Witness the many changes of form, and the frequent addition of matter, in numerous passages of the work.

Among the most noteworthy of these transformations is the new and better arrangement of the important fundamental treatise on the End of Man. (vol. i. pp. 73, seq.) Also the explanation of morality and moral action has gained considerably by the explicit proof that only acts of the will belong immediately and intrinsically to the moral order, and that it is absurd to construct *social* ethics in opposition to *individual*

¹ *Moralphilosophie. Eine wissenschaftliche Darlegung der sittlichen, einschliesslich der rechtlichen Ordnung* von Victor Cathrein, S.J. Zweite, vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. Band i. pp. xix. and 538. Band ii. pp. xvi. and 662. 8vo. Prize, m. 15.50; bound, m. 19.50. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder'sche Verlagshandlung, 1893.

ethics, an endeavour made by several modern writers. (vol. i. pp. 120, seq.) A very welcome addition is, moreover, the clear refutation of the theory on the supreme good of mankind held by social eudæmonists and evolutionists. These philosophers would have it that there is no such thing as a supreme good for man considered as an individual, but only for mankind as a whole, and that mankind's supreme good is nothing else but an ever progressing civilization, or, as Ziegler prefers to express it, an ever-progressing solution of the moral problem of mankind—*die fortschreitende Lösung der sittlichen Aufgabe der Menschheit*. Father Cathrein compares the rhetorical verbiage, which in authors of this school takes the place of argument, to the flowers with which graves are covered. And the strong arguments by which he proves the rottenness of the moral theory of evolutionists, must convince every intelligent reader that his comparison is not without foundation.¹

First, he shows that the evolutionistic dream about the supreme good starts from a supposition which is altogether wrong. According to the moral of progressive civilization, Humanity is its own end. That this clashes with right reason, is proved very satisfactorily by the lucid demonstration that the intelligent Maker of all things is also their final goal, and that He is in a far higher sense the last end of man than of any of the lower creatures.

Then, he dwells upon the insult offered by the evolutionist moral code to the spiritual nature of each individual man, who, according to that code, must make himself to be a mere instrument for the temporal welfare of his race, and thereby lose sight of the future life after death for which he evidently is meant.

After this, attention is called to the glaring opposition between the view of evolutionist moralists and the insatiable craving for individual happiness burning in the heart of each man. Next the author turns to the well-known scientific belief, that sooner or later the machinery of our universe will come to a standstill, and he invites his readers to consider whether they can find satisfaction in the speculations of moralists, who offer nothing to be hoped for as the final reward of all our painful struggles for moral goodness but the entombment of the human race under the ruins of their dwellings.

Finally, the utter barrenness of the airy moral principles of the evolutionist school in their application to human life is

¹ Cf. vol. i. pp. 102, seq.

rightly laid stress upon. If men with such gifts of mind as those we admire in St. Paul and St. Augustine, were not ashamed to own that they wanted the support of the faith in another life in order to persevere in the struggle against the tendency of their lower appetites to voluptuous epicurism,¹ the common run of mankind are not likely to forego the enjoyment of the present for the shadowy prospect of a more comfortable existence for future generations.

To the long list of modern theories with which the reader of Father Cathrein's *Moralphilosophie* becomes acquainted, there has been added the theory of M. Stirner, who advocates a most thorough egoism as the right line of human action (vol. i. pp. 131, seq.); that of F. Nietzsche, to whom mankind is a sort of ladder by which some few chosen mentally superior men—*die geistige Aristokratie*—climb up to the summit of unclouded bliss (pp. 132, seq.); that of P. Carus, who professes evolutionist monism, which in his mind is compatible with Christianity purified from mysticism and supernaturalism (pp. 176, seq.); finally, the rather hazy views on morality given to the world by H. Gallwitz, who is of opinion that the moral value of actions is not to be measured by general objective norms and laws; because *that action is good which corresponds to the individual character of the acting man.* (p. 214.)

Sad as it is to meet at the end of the nineteenth century of the Christian era with moral teaching of this stamp, it is at the same time very consoling to see that men are coming forth who develop true moral doctrine in lucid and beautiful language, and meet their opponents with objective calmness and convincing arguments. Among them the author of the *Moralphilosophie* which we have noticed, certainly deserves to be mentioned.

2.—THE JACOBITE WAR IN IRELAND.²

This little work is practically new to the general reader, though it is not the first time that it has been printed. In its original form it is not only antiquated in its phraseology, and

¹ Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 32; St. Augustine, *Confess.* l. vi. c. 16.

² *The Jacobite War in Ireland* (1688—1691). By Charles O'Kelly, Colonel in King James's Army. Edited by Count Plunkett, B.L., and Rev. Edmund Hogan, S.J. The Irish Home Library. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers, and Walker. 115 pp.

exceedingly crabbed in form, but with a curious and perverse ingenuity the author has disguised the valuable history he has to relate under a fictitious nomenclature derived from old classical times. Not only do balls and bullets appear in his pages as "arrows," and colonels as "Tribunes," but men and places are similarly treated, as will be seen from the following example :

ORIGINAL. "Nisias, having landed in the North of Cyprus, took the town and strong castle of Agidos, and advanced with his army near the city of Tremithus ; but, finding that Amasis was got there before him with a numerous body of horse and foot, he retired hastily to Lodron, where he fortified his Camp, having the province of Lapithia behind him and the conveniency of the sea to furnish him with provisions out of Cilicia."

Here "Nisias" stands for Schomberg ; "Cyprus," for Ireland ; "Agidos," for Carrickfergus ; "Tremithus," for Drogheda ; "Amasis," for King James ; "Lodron," for Sunderland ; "Lapithia," for Ulster ; and "Cilicia," for England.

It will thus be understood that the task of editing the work has been no mere matter of form. Careful research has, however, as we are told, enabled all the names to be interpreted, and the narrative is now printed in intelligible form, purged of all the absurdities with which the author veiled his meaning. In doing this the editors have conferred a great benefit on the history of the period, for the story told by one who was not only an eye-witness, but an actor in the scenes he describes, cannot but add materially to our knowledge. That it will tend to reverse received opinions is not to be expected. Colonel O'Kelly is severe on the weakness and vacillation of James, who showed himself more anxious to satisfy his enemies than his friends, and was, moreover, entirely in the hands of incapable advisers. Thus he tells us :

King James was so intent upon following the advice of his favourites, not to act anything in favour of the Irish, or for the re-establishment of the Catholic worship, that might displease his Protestant subjects in England (who as they believed, would undoubtedly recall him, if he continued his wonted moderation), that pursuant to this maxim he would not allow the Catholic Bishops to take their places in the Assembly of the States, though he allowed it to four Protestant Bishops ; all the rest of that stamp being gone into England to join with William, and for whom these also declared as soon as he appeared with any power

in Ireland. So that whoever considers the different behaviour of the Prince in the temple and Senate, would take him for a serious Catholic in the one, and a true Protestant in the other. (p. 6.)

This striking picture of the ingenious infelicity with which this unfortunate monarch ensured his own ruin, must suffice as a sample of this instructive, if not always strictly judicial, little chronicle.

Literary Record.

I.—BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

THE French Schools of Athens and Rome publish the result of their students' research in the form of a series—*Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*. The editions of the *Registra* of Popes of the thirteenth century, Munz' *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, are but a few out of the sixty-six volumes which these admirable institutions have produced. M. Enlart has given us, in a compact and well-illustrated work,¹ what might almost be entitled the influence of Clairvaux on the mediæval architecture of Italy. The exquisite buildings which the Cistercians raised in that land, in plan and design almost identical to Rievaulx and Fountains, have a special interest to us. We can see, for example, at this very day, in the Abbey of Casamare, a living house, which, better than any ideal restoration, explains to us the shattered remains, the skeletons, left to us in this country, of the monastic institutions of the white monks of old. No wealthy Commendatory Abbot of the Renascence, or of later Rococo days, has laid pious hands upon this building, for the fever-laden atmosphere in which it stands has been its best protector.

Professor A. L. Frothingham, in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, March—June, 1890, began a series of articles on precisely the same subject as M. Enlart, and naturally claims, in the December number of 1891, p. 448, a literary priority to his French rival, who at about that date, but subsequently to him, published an article on the subject. But we cannot regret

¹ *Origines Françaises de l'Architecture Gothique en Italie*. Par C. Enlart. Paris, 1894.

that it has met with two such well-skilled exponents. The magnificent Abbey of Fossanuova, so fully illustrated by M. Enlart and by Professor Frothingham, has the deep interest of being the place where St. Thomas d'Aquino breathed his last. The house was under the patronage of the Saint's illustrious family. The recent biography of Blessed Antony Balducci, in the Quarterly Series, gives additional interest to a chapter in the book before us, as it illustrates the chief scene of his labours, especially those of the close of his apostolic life. For, thanks to the influence of the great Cistercian abbeys in their midst, a singular outburst of very pure Gothic took place among the cities and towns of the Volscian Hills in the southern portion of the Papal States, as, for example, at Piperno, Sermoneta, Sezze, and Ferentino.

M. Enlart then goes on to treat of the buildings, erected much at the same period as the Cistercian houses, of the Canons Regular, of the Franciscans, and of Charles I. of Anjou, taking as their types the Abbey of St. Andrew of Vercelli, the *Sacro Convento* of St. Francis at Assisi, and the Cathedral of Lucera. A concluding portion treats of the Burgundian influences traceable in the Gothic buildings of the Peninsula.

The reference in the preceding notice to the *American Journal of Archaeology* leads naturally to a mention of this excellent serial.¹ The width of its scope, the inclusion of every style of art and antiquities, give it a special interest. But it is noteworthy that Christian art has so large a place in its pages, and of this Professor Frothingham is an admirable exponent. When will this subject form any part of the higher Catholic education in this country?

A remarkable addition to the study of "comparative architecture" is a Paper read on May 28th by Mr. Tavenor Perry before the Royal Institute of British Architects. His theme was the "Influence of the Hanseatic League on the Architecture of Northern Europe."² Starting with a sketch of the rise and progress of this mighty confederation, which for so many centuries held sway over the commerce of Northern Europe, the writer showed how marked a uniformity could be traced in the architecture, ecclesiastical and civil, of all the places connected with that league. Not merely the general arrangement of the buildings, their structure, their details, but even their material seems to have been dictated to them by the

¹ *American Journal of Archaeology*. January—March, 1894. Vol. ix. n. 1.

² *Journal of the Institute of British Architects*, May 31, 1894.

influence of the dominant power. Brick became the ordinary or exclusive material, even where stone was easily to be had. As an example near home, Mr. Perry cited the great church of Hull, one of the English seats of the *Hansa*, which was built of brick, in a county so exceptionally rich in excellent quarries. The interesting discussion, in which such authorities as Mr. Weale and Mr. H. W. Brewer took part, if it threw some doubt on one or more of the cases quoted in support of the theory, did not in any way weaken the main contention.

The exquisite sculpture of Strasburg Cathedral forms the subject of one of an excellent series of works on German art.¹ The fourteenth and fifteenth century work presents a strange contrast with to coarse carvings of the German Renaissance.

Herr Brunn has begun the publication of a careful work on Greek art.² The constant discovery of fresh examples makes it almost imperative to publish new manuals. The present volume, beginning with ante-Homeric art, brings us down to early Grecian work in bronze and pottery.

The first monograph of the Bibliographical Society is an illustrated memoir of Erhard Ratdolt,³ one of that galaxy of German printers who added a fresh glory to Venice in the latter half of the fifteenth century. But, as Mr. Redgrave tells us, little can be gathered about the printer himself. He lives in his splendid works. Those which he executed in Venice before his return (*circ.* 1586) to Augsburg, his native city, form the subject of this magnificently printed number.

In a series of seventeen glyptographs, two French architects have traced the history of the lordly castle of the ancient family of Rochefoucauld,⁴ from the mediæval fortress built by Foucauld II. on the *Roche*, till the sad ruin in its present state, when it is left to the weather, to the bats and the brambles. Under Francis II. de la Rochefoucauld, the godfather of Francis II. of France, Fontan was called in to transform the stern place of war into a magnificent palace of the French Renaissance. It is an admirable specimen of that period, and,

¹ *Studien zur Deutschen Kunst-geschichte. Die sculpturen des Strassburger Münsters.* By Ernst Meyer Altona. Strasburg, 1894.

² *Griechische Kunstgeschichte.* Von Heinrich Brunn. *Estes Bach die Anfänge und die älteste decorative Kunst.* Munich, 1893.

³ *Erhard Ratdolt and his Work at Venice.* By Gilbert R. Redgrave. London, 1894.

⁴ *Château de la Rochefoucauld en Angoumois.* Par E. Bauhain and J. Godefroy. Paris, 1893.

apart from its historic interest, deserves the careful study of every lover of domestic architecture.

Mr. Blackburn is well known as one of the most successful competitors among the many who reproduce for the world the annual art exhibitions of London. He has published a very useful work¹ on illustration of books in general, and on the various methods by which their illustrations are transferred to paper. Merely as a collection of specimens of what photo-graving can do, the book is well worth careful inspection. To an illustrator it is of very special value.

Nascitur non fit is true of an artist as well as of a poet, and it is hard to understand how good work can be learnt by any formal handbook of design.² No doubt it may teach a happy mean, and we are still so far from reaching even that. And if Art Education were more general among Catholics, inferior and bad work would not be so easily tolerated in our churches and in our houses. Certain principles are laid down in the work which ought to be obvious to all, *e.g.*, that in decorating the floor of a house "the prime condition is the essential flatness of its surface." And many such home truths we need sadly to learn. But one would rather have learnt them in the study of good models and in a general interest in the literature of Art, which, if it will not create an artist, may easily improve our standard.

In a large and carefully-edited *repertory* of the arms, devices, and seals³ of the counties and towns of Great Britain and Ireland, we have to regret the hopelessly inartistic character of the illustrations. The draughtsman of a provincial carriage-builder could hardly have done worse than the designs of the figures, heraldic and otherwise. Nor do we chiefly refer to the utterly unheraldic and utterly ugly objects that stand for arms, say of Southend or Blackpool, bathing machines and subscription piers. It is regrettable to learn that there is no law obliging any Corporation to apply, as private individuals have to do, for a grant of arms to the Heralds' College. But surely a newly-incorporated borough, which spends its money freely on

¹ *The Art of Illustration.* By Henry Blackburn. London, 1894.

² *Theory and Practice of Design: an Advanced Text-Book on Decorative Art.* By Frank G. Jackson, Lecturer at the Birmingham Municipal School of Art. London, 1894.

³ *The Book of Public Arms: a Cyclopædia of Arms of Counties, Cities, Towns, and Universities of the United Kingdom.* By A. C. Fox-Davies and M. E. B. Crookes.

a mayor's chain of office and on a big inaugural banquet, could pay some one with some notions of heraldic fitness, if not the official authorities of Queen Victoria Street, to give them something tolerable as armorial bearings of their towns.

France is a long way ahead of England in its superbly illustrated local histories, and a new description of the capital of old Burgundy¹ in folio, with full-sized *photogravures*, is another proof in point. This sumptuous work, which gives us the monuments of all ages from the early Roman period to the present day, is accompanied with a full and careful description of the history of the city and its buildings. The Cathedral, the Church of Nôtre Dame, the splendid tombs of the Burgundian Dukes, now in the *Musée*, are a few of the *mirabilia* of that interesting city.

A Dutch publishing firm is reproducing old engravings of native goldsmiths' work.² Balthazar Sylvius, 1550—1570, was an artist of a not very interesting period of pseudo-classicism, but the arabesques for engraving have a character and variety which makes them interesting. The work is on splendid paper and handsomely printed.

The exhibition of Madrid³ was certainly one of the most interesting of those held during the centenary of Columbus. M. de Molènes' work upon it is disappointing, first, because it shows what one has missed by not having seen the priceless collection, and secondly, because it gives insufficient details for those who are really interested in it. There is no Index, and though there is order, the work is of a provokingly newspaper texture. Luckily our South Kensington Museum possesses a wonderful series of photographs of the exhibits, which enable us to realize how rich Spain is in mediæval and cinquecento treasures.

Senhor Martins, the writer of so many important works on Portugal, has given us a Life of the great Constable, Nun' Alvares.⁴ To him Portugal owed its freedom in a critical hour, when the dynasty had come to an end in the person of Ferdinand I. By his bravery against the Castilian invaders, he secured the crown on the head of a natural son of Pedro

¹ *Dijon, Monuments et Souvenirs.* Par Henri Chabeuf.

² *Balthazar Sylvius. Quatre suites d'ornements.* The Hague, 1894.

³ *L'Espagne du quatrième centenaire de la decouverte du nouveau monde. Exposition historique de Madrid, 1892-3.* Par Emile de Molènes. Paris, 1894.

⁴ *A Vida de Nun' Alvares, historia do estabelecimento de dinastia de Avis.* By J. P. Oliveira Martins. Lisbon, 1894.

the Cruel, who, as John I., became the father of the dynasty of Aviz, and of the short-lived greatness of that monarchy. The standard of the Constable was typical of the life of this great warrior, for it bore on its folds St. George and St. James at the foot of the Crucified and of our Lady and Child. The life of Nun' Alvarez was divided between prayer and his military command, and when his duty to his country was done he became a Carmelite friar, and died shortly afterwards as a poor friar. In the Cortes of Portugal in 1674, the nobles discussed the question of trying his canonization at Rome, and this step was decided upon. The tone of the work is unpleasant, but it is written with great historical research, and illustrated by reproductions of ancient representations of the places mentioned in the Life.

In *Guillaume II. à Londres et l'union Franco-Russe* we have a detailed and lively picture, from an ultra-French point of view, of the visit to London of the German Emperor, in 1891. The author criticizes the hosts as well as their guest, and tells us plainly some truths about the state of our army which are quite as disquieting as any we hear from our home critics. Thus he says that as for the Volunteers, they cannot be taken seriously; while for the regular troops, their discipline must be sadly lax, since it is the habit of superior officers to go to the scene of a review in landaus, leaving the troops to find their way alone. Perhaps the most interesting piece of information is conveyed in one of the letters of which the book is made up, dated from London, July 8, 1891, and dealing with the route to be taken by the Emperor on his way to inspect the Volunteers at Wimbledon. "It has been decided," we are told, "that William II. shall travel by rail from Waterloo Station to Wimbledon, then on horseback by Wimbledon-Hill-Road, and passing through the ancient village of Common." The same well-informed writer is able to tell us in full detail what passed between the Imperial visitor and the then English Premier at "Hatfield Palace."

We have received from the Catholic Truth Society, No. xvii. of the series of Historical Papers, *England's Title: Our Lady's Dowry: its History and Meaning*, by Father Bridgett, C.S.S.R. (pp. 24.) Nothing need be said to recommend a treatise on such a subject coming from such a hand.

The same Society publishes, in leaflet form, the *Resolutions of the Cardinal Archbishop and Bishops of England on Public*

Elementary Education, which were passed by them in Low Week last. It is to be hoped that this may serve to stimulate Catholics by impressing upon them the supreme and practical importance of the subject, especially at the present moment.

Two other leaflets, issuing from the same source, will be very useful in regard of controversies at present before the public. *The Truth about the Reformation* collects telling testimonies from the Protestant historians, Green, Hallam, and Froude, as to the mode in which the change of religion was foisted upon the people of England; while *What the Escaped Nun says about the Rescued Nun*, adds an amusing element to the discussion which has so much agitated Bournemouth and other places.

We are glad to receive as an addition to the Society's Devotional Series a neat and handy edition of the *Jesus Psalter*, a devotjon so much practised by English Catholics of the good old school.

II.—MAGAZINES.

In the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, the first place is given to an article on the Ethics of Brutes, by Father Victor Cathrein, which is based on Mr. Herbert Spencer's treatment of the subject, in his *Principles of Ethics*. As Father Cathrein truly remarks, the endeavour to explain the distinction between right and wrong and our instinctive recognition of it, on the principles of evolutionists, is a task so hopeless as to require an amount of courage worthy of a better cause. The utilitarian basis on which the law of morals is made to rest, by those who say that whatever has in the past benefited individuals, or the race in general, has become for us "good," and whatever has done the opposite "bad," is disposed of by him with a dash of plain common-sense which is very refreshing; according to this theory, he says, mustard-plasters and the cold-water cure enter into the sphere of morality, and physicians and druggists are its most conspicuous professors. He also makes merry, as well he may, on Mr. Spencer's distinction between the virtuous and the wicked squirrel, the former being that which stores up nuts for the winter, and the latter that which does not. As Father Cathrein pertinently asks, Has Mr. Spencer ever met with the

latter animal in real life? Squirrels, like other brutes, do just what they cannot, under the guidance of instinct, avoid doing.

Perhaps the most entertaining portion of the article is that which deals with a series of experiments made for Mr. Spencer by his friend Mr. Jones, on his own horse and dog, on which the philosopher lays great stress: Mr. Jones being the happy possessor of quadrupeds which exhibit the idea of moral duty in no ordinary degree. They would also appear to have rather a bad time of it, since the owner pricks his dog's back with pen-knives, and sits upon its tail, by way of proving the sweetness of its temper. Under the latter infliction it so far forgot itself as to growl, but quickly recognizing its fault, exhibited the most unfeigned penitence. What makes the matter more remarkable is that the sire of this virtuous animal was a notorious fighter, while the son will on no consideration bite a living thing, and the dam was of so snappish a disposition that Mr. Jones would not allow her to have access to her puppies except in the dark, lest she should corrupt their infant minds. As Father Cathrein, however, remarks, this utterly upsets the theory of the gradual and insensible development of qualities, on which evolutionists insist.

In "Dean Stanley and the Liberal Movement of Contemporary Anglicanism," Father Zimmerman treats a subject which has also special interest for English readers, and on which, though they be familiar with its main features, they may with fruit study the remarks of a foreign observer. He has evidently made himself well acquainted with the facts and literature of his subject, but it were desirable that he should remove such blemishes in the way of nomenclature as "Rugby College," and "Ideal Church"—the latter being given as the title of Dr. W. G. Ward's famous work.

Father Dreves' "Anthology of Greek Hymns" (originals with German translation) may likewise be mentioned.

The new departure of the *Portfolio*,¹ the monthly publication of a monograph on artists and on artistic subjects, is an excellent one. Last month it favoured us with a sympathetic study of that very English and very refined artist, Frederick Walker. His art training was based on a careful study of the Elgin marbles, and the grace of Phidias is traceable all through his works, though translated into excellent modern Anglo-Saxon. During his life he paid the penalty of a highly-refined tempera-

¹ *The Portfolio*, June, 1894.

ment, to which his phthisical complexion added no doubt, by a morbid over-sensitiveness, one cause perhaps of the melancholy undertone which runs through most of his works.

The present number of a Swiss art-serial¹ contains, *inter alia*, a series of coloured prints of Japanese designs, some curious fragments of late Swiss glass of the close of the sixteenth century, reproductions of fine wood engravings of the standards and standard-bearers of the Swiss Cantons by Ursgraf, 1521, and pieces of mediæval plate from Neuschâtel Museum—drinking tankards. There are also two exquisite mediæval bas-reliefs carved in wood and coloured, from the conventual church of Muri. They are full of grace and religious feeling. They represent the Agony in the Garden and the Deposition, and are late pointed. The publication is another specimen of the magnificence of other countries in illustrating by splendid works, and thus popularizing, the treasures of the national collections.

¹ *Völkerschau, Herausgegeben von der Museen in Aarau.* Band III. Blatt 61—90, Aarau, 1894.

